

University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts
Doctoral School of History
Medieval Programme

Péter Tamás Bara

Leo of Chalcedon
The Network, *Paideia*, and Miracles
of an Early Komnenian Metropolitan

(Doctoral Thesis)

Supervisor:

† Dr. Habil. Terézia Olajos prof. em. University of Szeged

External adviser:

Niels H. Gaul, PhD, A. G. Leventis Prof. of Byzantine Studies, University of Edinburgh

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to the memory of my grandparents

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NOTE ON transliteration, ABBREVIATIONS, AND QUOTATIONS

As there is no standard form for the transliteration of Greek names, placenames, and terms, I have used the versions of these words which appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (ODB).¹

I followed the abbreviation system of the *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*. If the required item did not appear there, I turned to Lampe's *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* in the case of patristic, and to Liddle and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* in the case of classical authors. Names of Biblical books are abbreviated according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Abbreviations devised by myself are listed below. Publications cited in an abbreviated form in the footnotes are cited in full in the Bibliography.

Quotations which exceed three lines, or verses are indented and appear as block quotations. Shorter citations run on in the text. The translations are mine, except it is indicated otherwise at the first occurrence.

PRIMARY SOURCES

I follow the abbreviations of the *LSJ* in the case of classical authors. Works of Patristic and Byzantine writers are cited according to the *LBG*² and *ODB* (this is the order of consultation). In addition to those:

- Al. Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. A. Kambylis and D. R. Reinsch, CFHB XL (Berlin, New York, 2001). The English translations of the passages are based on E. R. A. Sewter, transl., P. Frankopan, ed., *Anna Komnene. The Alexiad* (London, 2009) with my occasional modifications.
- Alex. Chrys. *The Chrysobull of Alexios I from August 1082*, *RhP* 5 281–284.
- Alex. Sem. *The Semeioma of Alexios I from January 1086*, Sakkélion, I., 'Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant deposition de Léon, Métropolitain de Chalcédoine', *BCH* 2 (1878), 102–128.
- Apol. *The Apology of Leo of Chalcedon*, ed. P. Bara, see Appendix 3.
- Bryen. Nikephoros Bryennios, *Material for History*, ed. P. Gautier, *Histoire* (Brussels, 1975).
- Thom. Somn. *The Dream of Thomas the Deacon*, ed. A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10 36 (1900), 404.
- Dial. Eustratios Nikaia, *Dialogos*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hildesheim, 1965²), 127–151.
- Ep. Alex. *Leo's Letter to Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10 36 (1900), 403–404.
- Ep. Mar. *Leo's Letter to Maria of Bulgaria*, ed. A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10 36 (1900), 404–405.
- Ep. Nic. *Leo's Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*, ed. A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10 36 (1900), 414–416.

¹ <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526>, accessed 29 Nov 2018.

² http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/lbg_abbreviations.html, accessed 29 Nov 2018.

- Ep. Patr. Leo's Letter to Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos*, ed. A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10, 36 (1900), 405–407.
- Libellus Leo IX, Libellus, Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. C. Will (Leipzig, 1861 repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1963), 65–85.
- Thdr. Stud. Ep. Theodore the Studite, Letters*, ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1992).
- CCO Joannou, P. P., *Discipline Generale Antique (Ile-IXe s.)*, t. I, 1, Les canons des conciles oecuméniques (Rome, 1962).
- CPG Joannou, P. P., *Discipline Generale Antique (Ile-IXe s.)*, t. II, 2, Les canons des Pères Grecs (Rome, 1963).
- CSP Joannou, P. P., *Discipline Generale Antique (Ile-IXe s.)*, t. I, 2, Les canons des conciles particuliers (Rome, 1962).
- Karmires Karmires, J., ed., *Dogmatica et symbolica monumenta orthodoxae catholicae ecclesiae*, t. 1. (Graz, 1968).
- CIC Mommsen, T., Krueger, P., ed., *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1928–29).
- V. Cyr. Nikolaos Kataskepenos, *The Life of Cyril Phileotes*, ed. É. Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Phileote moine byzantin (†1110)* (Brussels, 1964).
- Psell. Chron. Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. D. R. Reinsch (Berlin, 2014).
- Psell. enk. Michael Psellos, *Encomium for His Mother*, ed. U. Criscuolo, *Michele Psello. Autobiografia: encomio per la madre* (Naples, 1989).
- Psell. ep. Ker. Michael Psellos, *Letter to Michael Keroularios*, ed. U. Criscuolo, *Epistola a Michele Cerulario* (Naples, 1990).
- v. Phil. *Life of Philotheos of Opsikion*, Ed. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus* (Frankfurt, 1832), 141–152.
- Zon. John Zonaras, *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν*, ed. M. Pinder, T. Büttner-Wobst, *Annales*, 3 vols, Bonn 1841–1897.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

I follow abbreviations, used in the *LBG* and *DOP*³ (this is the order of consultation). In addition to those:

- CHBE *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008).
- EJ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum, Fred Skolnik (Detroit, 2007²).
- Glavinas, Eris Glavinas, A., *Ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ (1081-1118) περὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν, κειμηλίων καὶ ἀγίων εἰκόνων ἔρις (1081-1095)* (Thessalonike, 1972).
- Grumel, 'Semeioma' Grumel, V., 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine. Le décret ou 'semeioma' d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1086)', *EO* 39 (1940), 333–341.
- Lausberg Lausberg, H. et al., ed., *A Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden, Boston, 1998), referred to according to paragraphs.
- PBW (2016) *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, 2016, M. Jeffreys et al. (King's College London, 2017) available at <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk>.⁴

³ <https://www.doaks.org/research/publications/resources-for-authors-and-editors/list-of-abbreviations-used-in-byzantine-publications>, accessed 29 Nov 2018.

⁴ Last accessed 13 Jan 2020.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE SCOPE OF INVESTIGATION

This thesis examines the personage of Leo the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon (died after 1094) and the episcopal paradigm he represented in the social context of late eleventh-century Byzantium. The personage of the prelate is analysed jointly with the Komnenian Iconoclasm, the religious controversy which took place between 1082 and 1094 and whose leading figure was Leo.

2. THE KOMNENIAN ICONOCLASM: DEFINITION, ITS SOURCES, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND OVERVIEW

2.1. DEFINITION

Leo, the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon is the core figure of this study. The prelate was the protagonist of the so-called Komnenian Iconoclasm, or Komnenian Iconoclast Debate which took place between 1082 and 1094. First, the very notion of this controversy needs explanation. As I will show in more detail, the Komnenian Iconoclasm was a debate about the secular use of church objects. Alexios I Komnenos and other members of the reigning family ordered the confiscation of church plates, liturgical objects, icons, and even had the metal decoration of churches and monasteries removed in order to gain precious metals for minting coins and paying their mercenaries during the wars against the Normans and later against the Pechenegs. Icons were indeed destroyed, however, the regents were not led by religious, but entirely by practical purposes, thus, the Komnenian Iconoclasm should be clearly distinguished from the Iconoclasm of the mid seventh-early ninth centuries.⁵

Furthermore, a look at the terminology which Leo applied in the course of the debate shows that the prelate aimed at demonstrating the heterodoxy of his adversaries, but not necessarily that they had been iconoclasts. When the controversy escalated, though, Leo focused his arguments on the images, instead of the expropriated ornaments and liturgical vessels. This can be explained by the fact that icons amounted to an evergreen topic in the armoury of political and religious debates after Iconoclasm when the word εἰκονομάχος ('hostile to images') received the broader meaning

⁵ For a short overview on iconoclast terminology, see: *ODB* 2 975–977, s. v. 'Iconoclasm', and P. Schreiner, 'Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute', *Settimane* 34, 1 (1988), 319–407.

of heretic.⁶ The problem of the icons was first worded by Leo of Chalcedon in the *Apology* in the early months of 1086. Leo emphasised that the strongest ties link the icons to the prototypes themselves, because their *hypostasis* is one and the same.⁷ This was the prelate's key argument in his icon-theology throughout the controversy.⁸ Leo accused his adversaries with impiety (ἄσεβεια)⁹ and idolatry (εἰδωλολατρεία), because they destroyed icons and used the iconic material for secular purposes.¹⁰ The metropolitan called into doubt that they venerate the icons, if they, at the same time, destroy them.¹¹ Furthermore, Leo compared them implicitly to iconoclast figures, such as Konstantinos V the dumb-named (r. 741–775).¹² The metropolitan's correspondence from the period of his exile, in particular, his *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*,¹³ presented theological arguments about the closeness and unity of iconic representation (χαρακτήρ) with the prototype, but Leo did not make any statement regarding his adversaries. The word εἰκονομάχος ('hostile to images') which had been associated with the iconoclasts¹⁴ occurred only in the excerpts made from Leo's *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ*.¹⁵ The synopsis, together with Leo's *Apologos*, survived in a thirteenth-century manuscript *Escor. Y. 2.7. (262)* together with other patristic and Byzantine writings on icon theology.¹⁶ However, the word εἰκονομάχος (and εἰκονομαχία) is not present in other pieces from Leo's pen and the contemporary and later sources¹⁷ discussed only to the charge of idol-worship which occurs not only in the excerpts,¹⁸ but in the *Apology* and in Leo's correspondence, too. The only exception is Niketas Choniates' *Synopsis* which was written at the beginning of the thirteenth century and claimed that Leo had denoted Alexios' alienation and reuse of sacred objects as εἰκονομαχία.¹⁹

I am wondering whether it was the author summarizing Leo's *Demonstration* who applied the expression when recapitulated the metropolitan's ideas which definitely oversimplified the

⁶ L. Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London, 2012), 3; See also J. Elsner, 'Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium', *ArtB* 94 (2012), 368–394.

⁷ *Apol.* 116–118.

⁸ See the second unit of Chapter Two.

⁹ Leo directed his charges first at Patriarch Eustratios Garidas and later at anybody who alienated church property, *Alex. Sem.* 122–123.

¹⁰ Leo considered the alienation of church objects more than idol-worship, see *Apol.* 157–200.

¹¹ *Apol.* 127–130.

¹² *Apol.* 95.

¹³ *Ep. Nic.*

¹⁴ *Lampe* 410 s. v. 'εἰκονομάχος'.

¹⁵ *Escor. Y. 2. 7. (262)* f. 16r l. 23.

¹⁶ For the manuscript, see the first section of Chapter Two.

¹⁷ *Dial., Al.* 5.2.5.

¹⁸ *Escor. Y. 2. 7. (262)* f. 16r l. 27, see in *Appendix 1 § 6* of the *Demonstration* alongside with the *loci paralleli* in Leo's oeuvre.

¹⁹ Niketas Choniates, Σύνοψις τῶν δογμάτων, ed. L. F. Tafel, *Annae Comnenae supplementa historiam graecorum ecclesiam seculi XI et XII spectantia* (Tübingen, 1832), 6, l. 5–6: Λέων [...] εἰκονομαχίαν πρόδηλον τὸ γεγονός κατωνόμαζεν.

arguments made in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate. Niketas Choniates' early thirteenth-century text can confirm that there was a certain tradition which contended that Leo used the word εἰκονομαχία.²⁰

Modern scholars called the controversy attached to Leo's personage 'Komnenian Iconoclasm' not long ago, the notion has been introduced by Annamarie Carr only in 1995.²¹ Earlier scholarship described it as 'le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine' (Pelopidas Stephanou in 1943), or 'l'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine' (Venance Grumel in 1944). Alexander Glavinas in 1972 used the expression 'περὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν, κειμηλίων καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἔρις'. Most recently, Victoria Gerhold coined the term 'Chalcedonian Controversy',²² nevertheless, in order to avoid the confusion with the fifth-century synod and the debates following it, I prefer Carr's terminology, or the use of 'Early Komnenian Debate on icons', or 'Iconoclast Debate'. I also find it acceptable to denote the controversy as 'Pseudoiconoclasm' which clearly shows that it was not iconoclasm in the classical sense of the word.²³

2.2. SOURCES

Scholarship is aware of the controversy's details from late eleventh-century sources (imperial documents, trial records, and Leo's correspondence). Furthermore, it was Anna Komnene whose attention turned to the Komnenian Iconoclasm again for reasons which will be explained in Chapter Three. She gave an overview of the controversy in *Book 5* and *Book 7* in her *Alexiad* which are the most detailed, coherent accounts of the debate.²⁴ John Zonaras in his mid-twelfth-century *Epitome historion* also referred to Leo's debate. Afterwards Niketas Choniates commemorated the controversy in his *Panoplia Dogmatike* (early thirteenth c.) and one may find a short reference in the late thirteenth-century *Synopsis Chronike*.

It is the attendance list of John Italos' trial series where Leo of Chalcedon's name occurred for the first time.²⁵ The document has been critically edited by Jean Guillard based on the only fourteenth-century copy.²⁶ The trial took place from February to April 1082 and Leo was present only during the third assembly 21 March 1082 where the imperial will has been confirmed by the

²⁰ It is important to note that Choniates recorded another summary of Leo's icon theology, too, which I cannot trace either in Leo's writings, or in other sources, see Niketas Choniates, *ibidem* 6, l. 12–13.

²¹ Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons', 579. Leslie Brubaker argued that the denomination 'iconoclasm' is present in modern scholarship since the 1950s, see L. Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 120.

²² Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 87.

²³ Olivier Delouis used the term this way in our personal correspondence.

²⁴ *Al.* 5.2.1–5, 7.4.1.

²⁵ J. Guillard, 'Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien: les actes et leurs sous-entendus', *TM* 9 (1985), p. 141. l. 68. For details on the trial, see below p. 40–41.

²⁶ J. Guillard, 'Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien', 133–134.

clergy's final verdict regarding Italos. As I will discuss later, nothing goes against the idea that Leo supported the condemnation of the philosopher.

The earliest surviving piece in Leo's correspondence addresses Alexios I.²⁷ In the *Letter to Alexios I* the prelate drew attention to certain issues which date the letter. Leo highlighted the omnipresence of the losses church institutions suffered, and he emphasised God's anger which rose in the wake of the imperial alienation and the deposition of the former patriarch Kosmas III. Finally, the prelate emphasised the emperor's responsibility in the restoration process. Despite the fact that Alexander Glavinas dated the letter to 1083,²⁸ alongside with Venance Grumel²⁹ and Victor Tiftixoglou,³⁰ I believe that Leo addressed the emperor with these questions before August 1082 when the next document of the controversy, Alexios' *chrysobullon* was issued. I think that the *chrysobull* replied to Leo's contentions.

The third source in a chronological order which testifies Leo's early activities is the *chrysobull* of Alexios I. Venance Grumel dated the decree to August 1082.³¹ The *chrysobullon* informs its reader that there was a great peril which urged the emperor Alexios I, to confiscate church valuables. The ruler is presented in the first person singular and the document emphasised that the alienation had evoked God's wrath which had been confirmed by 'spiritual and holy men', too.³² The emperor promised that neither he nor his successors would touch the sacred objects any more. As only one act of confiscation is mentioned in the document, church valuables have been alienated again only after the *semeioma* of 1086, and the *chrysobullon* is mentioned in the imperial *semeioma* of 1086,³³ it is reasonable to agree with Grumel's dating which concurs with the surviving date in the document. The *chrysobull* records that Alexios consulted holy men (in the plural) which is also in accordance with the view scholarship holds about spiritual advisers in the imperial family's entourage, one of whom was Leo of Chalcedon.³⁴

²⁷ *Ep. Alex.*; I discuss the manuscript tradition of Leo's letters in the section examining his correspondence; furthermore, I analyse the content of Leo's *Letter to Alexios I* at p. 40–43.

²⁸ Glavinas, *Eris*, 86.

²⁹ *Alex. Sem.* 339 and Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine: le chrysobulle d'Alexis', 128 fn. 4.

³⁰ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 41 fn. 109.

³¹ I used the diplomatic edition in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5: 281–284 which goes back to I. Leunclavius, *Juris Graeco-Romani tam canonici quam civilis Tomi duo* (Frankfurt, 1596), 2: 124–126. Leunclavius' edition goes back to the same fourteenth-century manuscript of Patmos which was the basis of Venance Grumel's edition of the imperial *semeioma* of 1086. The edition of Rhalles and Potles was reproduced by Z. A. Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Leipzig, 1857), 355–358, reedited in Zepos, *Jus*, 3: 355–358. See also Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine: le chrysobulle d'Alexis', 126–133 with an examination of earlier hypotheses on the decree's dating.

³² Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5: 282–283: Our imperial majesty [...] examined the issue with the help of spiritual and holy men. ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν [...] συνεσκέψατο πνευματικοῖς καὶ θείοις ἀνδράσιν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

³³ *Alex. Sem.* 127.

³⁴ See p. 44–46.

The chronologically next piece, the imperial *semeioma* issued in January 1086 is a key testimony of the controversy.³⁵ The judicial report presents an overview of the events until the Winter of 1086 from the perspective of Alexios I. The text has been edited and published on the basis of a fourteenth-century manuscript from Patmos.³⁶

Earlier research did not examine Leo of Chalcedon's *Apologos* in its entirety.³⁷ As I will demonstrate in Chapter Two, the prelate delivered this canonical demonstration in attendance upon Alexios I shortly after the imperial *semeioma* was issued, so early in 1086. The oration survived in a thirteenth-century manuscript; it not only reveals Leo's canonistic erudition, but also shows his first thoughts on icons.

Leo wrote a treatise which had been entitled *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ* which has not been examined by earlier scholarship. The tract, unfortunately, did not survive but only a summary, which could have preceded the text. I published the short synopsis in *Appendix 1*. The summary survived in the same codex as Leo's *Apology*, the *Escor. Y. 2. 7. (262) f. 16r*, the folio prior to the first folio of the *Apologos*, contains the text. I am of the opinion that the person who made the summary abridged Leo's thoughts in a manner which follows the prelate's vocabulary. In the *Appendix*, I indicate the *loci paralleli* from Leo's correspondence which show that Leo did not alter his views after composing the *Demonstration*. It is only the fifth contention which shows some difference in terminology from the prelate's *Apology* and from the *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*, namely the word εἰκονομάχος and the explicit charge of iconoclasm one cannot find either in Leo's, or in his adversaries' writings.³⁸ Leo's *Demonstration* dates after Leo's *Apologos*, i.e. 1086, but before his correspondence from the exile, i.e. 1091–1094.³⁹

Eustratios of Nikaia's *Dialogos*⁴⁰ and his *Syllogistic Demonstration*⁴¹ has been written in the early 1090s after Leo was banished to Sozopolis, but before the Blachernai synod took place.⁴²

³⁵ For the text, see *Alex. Sem.*, for an analysis, consult: Grumel, 'Semeioma', 333–341.

³⁶ *Alex. Sem.* 102–103.

³⁷ See my detailed analysis in Chapter Two and the edition of the *Apologos* in *Appendix 3*.

³⁸ 5) And he is clearly impious and hostile to the images as he treats separately the matter of the icon and the icon from the *hypostasis* of the prototype. ε' Καὶ ἐστὶ προφανὴς ἀσεβὴς καὶ εἰκονομάχος ὡς τὴν εἰκονικὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα διαιρεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρωτοτύπου.

³⁹ Nicholas of Hadrianople mentioned Leo's works in the exchange of ideas which preceded the dogmatic letter *Ep. Nic.: Nicholas of Hadrianople's Letter to Leo of Chalcedon*, Lavriotes, 'Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα', 413: καὶ τὰ τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος [γράμματα] which may refer to Leo's *Apodeixis*.

⁴⁰ *Dial.*

⁴¹ Eustratios of Nikaia, *Syllogistic Demonstration*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Hildesheim, 1965²), 151–160.

⁴² Charles Barber dated the two works to the same years (C. Barber, 'Eustratios of Nicaea and the Constraints of Theology', 99). Glavinas gives an overview about the dating of the two works (Glavinas, *Eris*, 196–198, his list has to be complemented with Lourié, 'Une dispute sans justes', 322 who, following Stephanou's view, dated the two works to 1086) and Glavinas himself dated the pieces after the Blachernai synod. However, scholars were neither aware of Leo's *Apologos* (where his first ideas appear), nor his *Demonstration about the icons of Christ*. Furthermore, I do not see why Eustratios should have written about Leo's ideas after the

Eustratios replied to Leo's theory of icons, namely the prelate's *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ* and his *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*. Eustratios of Nikaia was a philosopher and theologian, John Italos' pupil, later bishop of Nikaia.⁴³ His career in the Komnenian court started after he had composed the two works under discussion.

Leo of Chalcedon's correspondence can be dated to the period of Leo's exile (i. e. 1090/91–1094) except for the bishop's *Letter to Alexios I*. The letters were preserved in the manuscript No. 139 of the Great Lavra in Mount Athos. The codex, which is partly truncated, includes homilies and letters of prelates from Late Antiquity to the Komnenian period such as Gregory of Nyssa, Michael Keroularios, Eustratios of Nikaia, Leo of Chalcedon.⁴⁴ The manuscript is dated to the thirteenth century, and it consists of 149 folios from which f. 33–f. 84 contain Leo's letters.⁴⁵ The texts were published in 1900 by the Athonite monk Alexander E. Lavriotes, who described the manuscript, too.⁴⁶ After the publication of Lavriotes, though, the manuscript disappeared. It was Erich Lamberz who rediscovered the manuscript in 2003 when he was working on the afterlife of the Seventh Ecumenical Council. The case was simply that the codex was not reshelfed to its proper place.⁴⁷ Lamberz planned the new edition of the documents pertaining to the case of Leo of Chalcedon, however, with the demise of the librarian Nikodemos, the project came to a standstill. Since Lavriotes made some orthographic failures and his edition lacks a critical apparatus, a new look at the manuscript would be necessary. Due to the fact that I became aware of the existence of the

Blachernai synod as Glavinas claimed. I position the *terminus post quem* roughly to 1090 and the *ante quem* to 1094.

⁴³ On Eustratios of Nikaia, see J. Draeseke, 'Zu Eustratios von Nikaia', *BZ* 5 (1896), 319–336; P. Joannou, 'Eustrate de Nicée. Trois pièces inédites de son procès (1117)', *REB* 10 (1952), 24–34; P. Joannou, 'Die Definition des Seins bei Eustratios von Nikaia. Die Universalienlehre in der byzantinischen Theologie im XI. Jh.', *BZ* 47 (1954), 358–68; P. Joannou, 'Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi. Das Semeioma gegen Eustratios von Nikaia (1117)', *BZ* 47 (1954), 369–78; P. Joannou, 'Le sort des évêques hérétiques réconciliés. Un discours inédit de Nicétas de Serres contre Eustrate de Nicée', *Byz* 28 (1958), 1–30; K. Giocarinis, 'Eustratius of Nicaea's Defense of the Doctrine of Ideas', *Franciscan Studies* 24 (1964), 159–204; J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire', *TM* 2 (1967), 206–210; H. Paul, F. Mercken, *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (†1253)*, Vol. 1 (Leiden, 1973), 6*–14*; M. Trizio, 'Eustratius of Nicaea on Absolute and Conditional Necessity. A Survey of the Commentary on Book VI of the Nicomachean Ethics', *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), 35–63; M. Trizio, *Il neoplatonismo de Eustrazio di Nicea* (Bari, 2016).

⁴⁴ I cannot identify any additional pattern according to which the authors in the manuscript were selected.

⁴⁵ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 116.

⁴⁶ For the description, see A. Lavriotes, 'Αναγραφή χειρογράφου τεύχους τῆς ἐν Ἀθῶν ἱερᾶς μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας', *Ἑκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 2, No. 16 (1886), 168–172; for the correspondence: A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα', 403–407, 411–416, 445–447. I cited some of the letters in abbreviated form, see at p. 6.

⁴⁷ E. Lamberz, 'Vermißt und gefunden. Zwei Texte des Sophronios von Alexandria zur Bildenverehrung, die Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils und eine Patrairchsurkunde des 11. Jahrhunderts in einem griechischen Codex aus dem Besitz des Nikolaus von Kues (Harleianus 5665)', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), 159–181, see his note at p. 180.

manuscript in the final phase of the thesis writing procedure, I used Lavriotes' nineteenth-century edition in the dissertation.⁴⁸

The Komnenian Iconoclast Debate ended with the Blachernai-synod in 1094 whose minutes appeared in the PG series.⁴⁹ The *semeioma* survived in two fourteenth-century versions (Coisl. 36 f. 307–311v and the *Sinaiticus* 1117 f. 231v–232v) of which the longer one, the Coislinus, contains the list of attendance, too. The PG version presents the longer version, the attendance list was re-published by Paul Gautier in 1971 with an ample commentary.⁵⁰

The rest of the sources were composed in the course of the twelfth, or the thirteenth centuries, therefore, they show a chronologically more distanced view. First, it is Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* which gave two coherent accounts of the early Komnenian debate on icons in Book 5 and Book 7,⁵¹ furthermore, it recorded snapshots from the controversy.⁵² I used the most recent critical edition by Friedrich R. Reinsch and Alexander Kambylis⁵³ which is based on a twelfth and two fourteenth-century codices.⁵⁴ Despite the fact that Anna's biography is poorly documented, it is clear that she started to work on the *Alexiad* after 1136/38 when her husband Nikephoros Bryennios died.⁵⁵ Anna took up the task to continue and expand her husband's historical memoirs the *Hyle historias/ Material for History* which treated the years 1070–1079.⁵⁶ Anna worked on the *Alexiad* presumably until her death which happened between 1148 and 1155. As it is more and more emphasised in scholarship, the *Alexiad* is the apologetic narrative about the reign of Alexios I which should be read in the mid-twelfth century context when it was composed. This thesis follows this idea and contributes to scholarship, on the one hand, by discussing Anna's concept of divine dispensation and, on the other hand, by examining her account on the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate from both late eleventh-century and mid-twelfth-century perspective.

The second twelfth-century source which referred to Leo's case is John Zonaras' *Epitome of Histories*.⁵⁷ I used the nineteenth-century critical edition of Zonaras' chronicle which is based on the collation of witnesses from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ Zonaras' work can be dated to the twelfth century. Recent scholarship tends to position his activities after Anna finished

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Lev Lukovithskij for calling my attention to Lamberz's results and to Erich Lamberz for corresponding on the topic with me.

⁴⁹ PG 127.972B–984D.

⁵⁰ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 213–284.

⁵¹ *Al.* 5.2.4 and 7.4.1.

⁵² *Al.* 6.3.

⁵³ *Al.*

⁵⁴ *Al.* 15*–28*.

⁵⁵ *Al.* 3*–9*.

⁵⁶ *Bryen.*

⁵⁷ *Zon.*

⁵⁸ *Zon.* 1: v–vi.

the *Alexiad*.⁵⁹ The debate on icons is not mentioned by the historian, only the alienation of church property and Alexios' harsh economic and church policy.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, as Peter Frankopan hypothesised, Zonaras' account seems to complement Anna's account and gives a more censorious picture about Alexios' rule which is used throughout this thesis.

There are two accounts about the debate in thirteenth-century works. First, Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155–1217) made a short summary about Leo and the Iconoclast Debate in his *Σύνοψις τῶν δογματῶν*.⁶¹ The *Synopsis*, or *Panoplia Dogmatike* is only partially published, its critical edition is a *desideratum*.⁶² Choniates' compilative work dates to his Nicean period, thus after 1205.⁶³ Regarding Leo's personage, he seems to follow closely Anna's narrative and derives from it only with regard to the prelate's exile and concerning the content of Leo's doctrine on icons.⁶⁴

The last source which referred to the Early Komnenian Debate is the thirteenth-century *Synopsis chronike*.⁶⁵ It is a world chronicle which presents history from the creation of the world until 1261. The text has been attributed to Theodore Skoutariotes by August Heisenberg on the basis of a marginal note in the earliest fourteenth-century codex; however, this hypothesis is debated.⁶⁶ The anonymous writer presented Alexios' reign briefly, nevertheless from a viewpoint in which the emperor's morals and *eusebeia* is a key question. The violent entry of Alexios' troops in 1081, likewise the later abuse of public finances is recorded.⁶⁷ The alienation of church property is described as another characteristic of Alexios' avarice, but Leo of Chalcedon is not mentioned. The narrative showed Alexios as a repentant *basileus* who had amended his ways and as part of his *metanoia*, it is emphasised that Alexios I made up for the losses which ecclesiastic institutions

⁵⁹ P. Frankopan, *The Foreign Policy of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–c. 1100)*, PhD diss. (Oxford, 1998), 20–47; most recently, T. Kampianaki, *John Zonaras' Epitome of Histories (12th Cent.): A Compendium of Jewish-Roman History and its Readers*, PhD Diss. (Oxford, 2017), esp. 11–22. I am particularly thankful to Theofili Kampianaki for sharing with me her PhD thesis.

⁶⁰ Zon. 3:738.

⁶¹ Niketas Choniates, *Σύνοψις τῶν δογματῶν*, ed. L. F. Tafel, *Annae Comnenae supplementa historiam Graecorum ecclesiam seculi XI et XII spectantia* (Tübingen, 1832), 5–7.

⁶² See ODB 1 428–429 s. v. 'Choniates, Niketas', and J. L. van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia Dogmatike des Niketas Choniates* (Amsterdam, 1970); *Idem*, 'Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates', *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990), 91–105; P. Ermilov, 'Current Problems in Studying Nicetas Choniates' *Panoplia Dogmatica*', *Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of their Own Doctrine and their Perception of Foreign Doctrines*, ed. A. Rigo, E. Pavel (Roma, 2009), 91–102.

⁶³ See the preface where Niketas complained about his miserable conditions as a refugee in Nikaia, J. L. van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung* (Amsterdam, 1970), 57.20. Regarding Niketas' *Historia* and the *Panoplia* as texts composed in parallel: A. Simpson, 'Before and After 1204: The Versions of Niketas Choniates' *Historia*', *DOP* 60 (2006), 205.

⁶⁴ Niketas Choniates, *Σύνοψις*, 6.

⁶⁵ Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *MB* 7:1–556.

⁶⁶ See ODB 3 1912–1913 s. v. 'Skoutariotes, Theodore'; K. Zafeiris, 'The Issue of the Authorship of the *Synopsis Chronike* and Theodore Skoutariotes', *REB* 69 (2011), 253–263; Theodore Skoutariotes, *Χρονικά*, ed. R. Tocci, *Theodori Scutariotae chronica* (Berlin, München, 2015), 64*–101*.

⁶⁷ Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *MB* 7: 185–187.

suffered. The text, on the one hand, has some elements from Zonaras' critical viewpoint and, on the other hand, the apologetic Anna-like description is also present.

In addition to the sources presented so far, I used a plethora of evidence from other available sources which are not presented here as direct witnesses of the controversy. The overview of the direct sources is the following:

Name of the Source	Edition	Dating of the Source
John Italos' trial series	Gouillard, J., 'Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien', 133–169.	March–April 1082
Alexios I's chrysobull	Rhalles-Potles, <i>Syntagma</i> 5: 281–284.	August 1082
Leo's Letter to Alexios I Komnenos	<i>Ep. Alex.</i>	debated, ⁶⁸ presumably 1082
Alexios I's <i>semeioma</i>	<i>Alex. Sem.</i>	Jan 1086
Leo's <i>Apology</i>	<i>Scor.</i> Y.11.7 (262), f. 16v–23r, see <i>Apol.</i>	early 1086
Eustratios of Nikaia's two early works on icon theology	Eustratios of Nikaia, <i>Dialogos</i> , and <i>Syllogistic Demonstration</i> ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, <i>Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica</i> (Hildesheim, 1965 ²), 127–151; 151–160.	1090/1091–1094
Leo's correspondence from his exile	<i>Letters from Sozopolis</i> , ed. A. Lavriotes, „Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ”, <i>Ἐκκ. Ἀλήθ.</i> 10, No. 36 (1900), p. 403–407; 10, No. 37 (1900), 411–416, 445–447, 455–456. PG 127.972B–984D.	1090/1091–1094
Minutes of the Blachernai synod	P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes', 213–284. Anna Komnene, <i>Al.</i>	1094
	John Zonaras, <i>Zon.</i>	after 1143 (parts relevant to the debate)
	Niketas Choniates, <i>Σύνοψις τῶν</i>	Second part of the twelfth c. ca. 1205–1217

⁶⁸ Glavinas, *Eris* 86–87.

δογμαίων, ed. L. F. Tafel, *Annae Comnenae supplementa historiam graecorum ecclesiam seculi XI et XII spectantia* (Tübingen, 1832), 5–7.

Theodore Skoutariotes, Σύνοψις χρονική, ed. K. N. Sathas, *MB* 7: 185–187 after 1261

It is also worth noting that different phases of the Komnenian Iconoclasm are not attested equivocally in the sources, thus some parts are more copiously, while others are less documented. What is more, the researcher faces the challenge that it is only the periods 1082–1086, and 1091–1094 which are represented in eleventh-century material, while the beginning of the debate and details of the phase 1086–1091 are attested only in later sources. In addition to the imperial *semeioma* of 1086, Anna Komnene's *Alexias* and Niketas Choniates' *Synopsis* present the most coherent accounts of the controversy although due to the scarcity of evidence, it is difficult to verify the value of the narrative they tell. As I will explain soon, this is one of the methodological challenges this thesis takes up.

2.3. REVIEW OF SECONDARY LITERATURE

The Komnenian Iconoclasm has been analysed in the greatest detail by Athanasios Glavinas.⁶⁹ I start this review with his 1972-synthesis as he is the 'giant' whose shoulders support my research. The main virtue of Glavinas' monograph is his thorough, overarching approach to the controversy which is, nonetheless, rather descriptive than analytical. This thesis challenges Glavinas' chronology in some points, furthermore, Leo's social roles will be examined which has been little studied by the Greek savant. Glavinas' monograph and this thesis could not come into being without the contribution of generations preceding him. The series was launched by source publications. Ioannes Sakkélion published the *semeioma* documenting Leo's censure from 1086.⁷⁰ Alexander Lavriotes edited Leo's correspondence and the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon*.⁷¹ After these nineteenth-century steps, Venance Grumel cast further light upon the context of Leo's *Letters* and of the two imperial decrees from 1082 and 1086.⁷² Without Grumel's studies scholarship would

⁶⁹ Glavinas, *Eris*.

⁷⁰ I. Sakkélion, 'Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant deposition de Léon, Métropolitain de Chalcédoine', *BCH* 2, (1878), 102–128.

⁷¹ A. Lavriotes, 'Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἑκκ. Ἀλήθ.* 10, 36 (1900), 403–407; 10, 37, 1900, 411–416, 445–447.

⁷² V. Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine. Le décret ou 'semeioma' d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1086)', *EO* 39 (1940), 333–341; V. Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine. Le chrysobulle d'Alexis Ier sur les objets sacrés', *EB* 2 (1944), 126–133; V. Grumel, 'Les documents athonites concernant l'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine', *Studi e Testi*, 123 (1946), 116–135.

know very little about Leo's correspondence. Besides that, I develop his thought-provoking ideas on Leo's role at the beginning of the controversy. Furthermore, with the publication of Leo's unknown *Apology*, I confirm Grumel's hypothesis that the metropolitan was not removed from office in January 1086.

In line with Grumel's articles, Leo's teaching on icon theology and the first systematic overview of the Komnenian Iconoclasm has been provided by Pelopidas Stephanou.⁷³ Stephanou's chronology is reliable, yet it has been modified in some points by later scholars as the next section about the chronology of the controversy proves. However, Stephanou's presentation of Leo's theology of icons is still the cornerstone for researchers: his claims have been balanced, but not supplanted. First, Stephanou highlighted that the Komnenian Iconoclasm had been a political debate with practical and financial triggers in the background which had influenced the theological discussions, too. Second, his study showed that during Leo's debate a traditional theological methodology had been applied, based on the results of the Patristic period.⁷⁴ In Stephanou's view, Leo's ideas constitute a 'théorie subtile' describing the icons as having a θεουπόστατος χαρακτήρ.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, third, Stephanou also emphasised that Leo had not been a proper theologian, nor a heretic, but 'un Pasteur d'âmes pieux, mais comme il arrive parfois, têtue'.⁷⁶ Consequently, Grumel underlined that Leo borrowed the notion of θεουπόστατος χαρακτήρ from a tenth-century canon, dedicated to the Mandylion, the holy towel bearing the impression of Christ's face.⁷⁷ The art historian Annemarie Carr, decades after Grumel's article, brought attention to the fact that Leo's icon theology could be connected to the piety of his contemporaries.⁷⁸ Moreover, Carr pinpointed inconsistencies in Leo's train of thought and her opinion was strengthened by another art historian

⁷³ P. Stephanou, 'Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine', *OCP* 9 (1943), 5–64; P. Stephanou, 'Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine', *OCP* 9 (1943), 5–64; P. Stephanou, 'La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images', *OCP* 12 (1946), 177–199.

⁷⁴ As it is clear from the presentation of Leo's icon theology in Chapter Two. On the topic, see also L. Lukhovitskij, 'Споры о святых иконах при Алексее I Комнине: полемические стратегии и выбор источников [A Debate about the Holy Icons under Alexios I Komnenos: Polemical Strategies and the Choice of Sources]', *VizVrem* 73, 98 (2014), 88–108.

⁷⁵ Stephanou, 'La doctrine', 199.

⁷⁶ Stephanou, 'La doctrine', 199. Hans-Georg Beck only summarised Stephanou's statements: Beck, *Kirche*, 339–340; H. G. Beck, *Von der Fragwürdigkeit der Ikonen* (Munich, 1976), 29–30.

⁷⁷ V. Grumel, 'Léon de Chalcédoine et le canon de la fête du saint Mandilion', *AB* 68= *Mélanges Paul Peeters*, II. (Bruxelles, 1950), 135–152. On the Mandylion, see *ODB* 2 1282 s. v. 'Mandylion'. See also D. Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 426 referring to the use of the θεουπόστατος χαρακτήρ regarding Christ's flesh in the sixth-century Nestorian debate.

⁷⁸ Carr was greatly influenced by Valerie Nunn's study of late-eleventh-century Byzantine religiosity: V. Nunn, 'The Encheirion as Adjuncts to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period', *BMGS* 10 (1986), 73–102. See also R. Betancourt, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2018), 233–234, who brings further Carr's interpretation on divine presence and discusses Leo's doctrine of icons in the context of artistic 'medium', and also B. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2010), 198–208. I do not see the textual basis of Pentcheva's statement (p. 200), claiming that Leo's idea about the θεουπόστατος χαρακτήρ in the icons referred only to the icons of Christ.

Charles Barber, denoting Leo's doctrine as a poorly constructed icon theology.⁷⁹ Dirk Krausmüller has recently complemented this idea claiming that Leo followed the theological trend of the eleventh century and used Aristotle, instead of directly accessing the doctrine of the Cappadocian Fathers.⁸⁰ However, I do not find Krausmüller's arguments convincing to portray Leo as an innovative theologian.⁸¹ Notwithstanding, I share Krausmüller's view who disagreed with Bernard Lourié's idea to present Leo as a prelate misusing basic theological notions.⁸² Krausmüller's reply to Lourié's study demonstrated that behind Leo's strange theological reasoning one might have found a coherent theological system.⁸³ Therefore, scholars following Stephanou's study enriched the picture about Leo of Chalcedon as a theologian, still the Jesuit researcher's statements have not been refuted.

In parallel with examining Leo's theological reasoning, in other fields, such as prosopography and social history, scholarship brought new results regarding the Early Komnenian Debate on icons. In 1071, Paul Gautier republished the presence list with a thorough commentary regarding participants of the Blachernai synod which put an end to the Komnenian Iconoclasm in 1094. After the publication of Glavinas' monograph in 1972, John Thomas claimed that Leo was a central figure in a 'reform movement' against the institution of *charistikion*, i.e. the exploitation of church property by laymen.⁸⁴ This idea was rejected by Paul Magdalino⁸⁵ and Michael Angold as lacking its basis in the source material.

The latter, in his study of the interaction between church and society in eleventh-, and twelfth-century Byzantium, portrayed Leo as the fierce defender of the church against imperial interference.⁸⁶ This thesis builds upon Angold's section on the Komnenian Iconoclasm in many respects: Leo's financial background, the prelate's role as the defender of the church and as a holy man, and, finally, regarding the interpretation of the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* which circulated in the capital during Leo's exile.

⁷⁹ C. Barber, 'Leo of Chalcedon, Euthymios Zigabenos and the Return to the Past', *Contesting the Logic of Painting. Art and Understanding in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, Boston, 2007), 131–157.

⁸⁰ D. Krausmüller, 'Aristotle in Cappadocian Garb: the Trinitarian Speculation of Nicetas Stethatos and Leo of Chalcedon', *Erytheia* 37 (2016), 37–54.

⁸¹ See my assesment of Krausmüller's view in the second unit of Chapter Two [p. 106](#).

⁸² Lourié, B., 'Une dispute sans justes: Léon de Chalcédoine, Eustrate de Nicée et la troisième querelle sur les images sacrées', *StP* 42 (2006), 321–340.

⁸³ D. Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image: The Icon Theology of Leo of Chalcedon and Theodore of Stoudios', *GRBS* 58 (2018), 423–444.

⁸⁴ For the notion, see ODB 1 412 s. v. 'charistikion', and most recently Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2017), 153–159.

⁸⁵ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 2009³), 271.

⁸⁶ M. Angold, *Church and Society*, 46–48; see also his earlier work: M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204* (London, New York, 1997²), 135–137.

Furthermore, Victoria Gerhold examined the background of Leo's opposition, supposing an alliance between the Doukas-branch of the imperial family and malcontented members of the senatorial elite. Her hypothesis is doubtful as the Doukai seem to have been satisfied with their central positions in the administration and only those members conspired against Alexios I who fell from power with the accession of the Komnenoi.⁸⁷

Judith Ryder, in parallel with my thesis research, gave a short overview about the Komnenian Iconoclasm.⁸⁸ Ryder's approach has many common elements with the discussions in the present thesis. First, Ryder called attention to Leo's different, ambiguous representations in Book 5 and Book 7 of the *Alexiad*. Ryder, likewise this dissertation, saw Leo as the spokesperson of the entire church, as an arbiter of Orthodoxy who was linked to the ruling elite. What is more, she sought to identify those interest groups whose agenda Leo promoted, pointing particularly to provincial bishops who felt themselves threatened by the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate and who suffered losses in the course of Alexios' confiscations of church property.

Margaret Mullett noticed in 1997 that the case of Leo of Chalcedon had not been entirely understood.⁸⁹ Regardless the series of contributions from splendid scholars since then, I think that Mullett's remark still calls for further contribution. The review of secondary works demonstrates that so far research has mostly focused on Leo's theology, and the chronology of the debate has been established. However, the social implications of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate are far from being clarified. Therefore, in the next section, a short chronological overview is provided which not only helps the reader to become familiar with events of the Early Komnenian Debate on icons, but also highlights those points in the controversy which need further elucidation.

⁸⁷ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 203; the more detailed treatment of discontented members in the imperial family is Frankopan, 'Kinship'.

⁸⁸ J. Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon. Conflicting Ecclesiastical Models in the Byzantine Eleventh Century', *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Being In Between. Papers from the 45th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, Oxford, 24-6 March 2012*, ed. M. D. Lauxtermann, M. Whittow (Oxford, 2017), 169–180.

⁸⁹ Mullett, *Theophylact*, 72 fn. 302.

2.4. OVERVIEW

The following chart displays the most important details:⁹⁰

1081 October	the Normans launch their invasion
1081 December	the episcopal synod approves the alienation of sacred objects
1082, early months	Leo makes a protest
1082 Spring	Leo participates in the synod which condemns John Italos
1082 August	Alexios' <i>chrysobull</i> promises never to confiscate church treasures again
1082-1083	Leo's <i>Letter to Alexios</i> in which he insists on deposing patriarch Eustratios Garidas
1083 December	the committee examining the confiscation exonerates Alexios
1084, early months	Eustratios Garidas' official examination and acquittance, the patriarch nevertheless abdicated
1084	Leo refuses to concelebrate with Nicholas III, the new patriarch
1085 November	Alexios launches an examination against Leo
1086 January	the synod censures Leo
1086, early months	Leo delivers the <i>Apologos</i>
1087	Petcheneg invasion
1087–early 1091	second confiscation of church treasures
1087 August	Battle of Distra
between 1087 and 1091	Leo is banished to Sozopolis
before 1094	Leo's theory on icons based on his correspondence is examined

⁹⁰ The most detailed overview of the controversy is Alexander Glavinas' meticulous presentation: Glavinas, *Eris*. In addition to this, studies which include chronological overviews: Stephanou, 'Le procès', 5–64; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 192–214 esp. Angold, *Church and Society*, 43–46; and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 87–104.

1094 late
autumn

synod in the Blachernai-palace, the end of the controversy, Leo
acknowledges his faults and gets back his see

As the source material concordantly attests, the main reason which brought about the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate was Alexios I's confiscation of church property.⁹¹ Alexios I Komnenos and his family members, such as Anna Dalassene and the *sebastokrator* Isaac who substituted the campaigning Alexios in the capital,⁹² resorted to the alienation compelled by the need of providing their mercenaries' pay against the invading armies of Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, Robert Guiscard (r. 1057–1085).⁹³ The church objects were melted and coins were minted from their metal content. The emperor confiscated sacred objects not only in 1082, but also later during the Pecheneg invasion between 1087 and 1091.⁹⁴

The imperial agents collected different kinds of movable sacred objects, such as liturgical vessels and icons from churches, religious houses,⁹⁵ hermitages, and monasteries, furthermore metal decorations from the interior and exterior of such buildings.⁹⁶ The surviving meagre evidence suggest that the measures' effect reached the capital and its environs.⁹⁷ Anna Komnene played down the extent of these confiscations,⁹⁸ however, the Emperor himself admitted that a great number of ecclesiastical institutions had suffered losses.⁹⁹ It has been contended, too, that the alienation concerned only institutions under patriarchal supervision, nevertheless, I cannot see how this idea can be supported.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ *Ep. Alex.* 403, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5: 282, *Alex. Sem.* 114–115; *Al.* 5.2, *Zon.* 3:738, Niketas Choniates, *Σύνοψις τῶν δογματῶν*, 5–6; Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, 185–186. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène, I. Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I Comnène* (Paris, 1900), 80; Glavinas, *Eris*, 54–64. On confiscation of church property by earlier emperors, or prelates, see Glavinas, *Eris*, 55–59; Stephanou, 'Le procès', 7–8; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, esp. 192–193; Angold, *Church and Society*, 46 and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 89.

⁹² *Al.* 5.2.4; for Alexios' appointment of his relatives, see *Dö. Reg.* § 1063, 1064, 1070b, and esp. 1073.

⁹³ For the Norman campaigns on the Balkans during the reign of Alexios I, consult G. Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108* (Woodbridge, 2014). For an overview of Byzantine-Norman relations, see W. B. McQueen, 'Relations between the Normans and Byzantium, 1071–1112', *Byz* 56 (1986), 427–476; V. Falkenhausen, 'I rapporti con Bizanzio', *I Normanni. Popolo d'Europa 1030–1200*, ed. M. D'Onofrio (Venice, 1994), 350–355. For the financial difficulties and the Komnenian reply to them, see below p. 54–55.

⁹⁴ Glavinas, *Eris*, 135–138 with literature review.

⁹⁵ R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995), 270–271.

⁹⁶ *Ep. Alex.* 403.

⁹⁷ See the short list of churches Anna did not feel ashamed of revealing: *Al.* 6.3, where the Church of Chalkoprateia, the Church of Christ Antiphonetos, and the Church of Hagios Aberkios is mentioned, see also Glavinas, *Eris*, 68–71 and Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 173 on the sparsity of evidence.

⁹⁸ *Al.* 5.2.2, 6.3.3.

⁹⁹ Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5: 282.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 194.

The imperial family argued for such initiatives on the basis of secular law.¹⁰¹ Earlier scholarship knew only the imperial standpoint in this debate, but my edition and examination of Leo's *Apology* shows also the counterarguments from the ecclesial side. As I will discuss in Chapter Two, the Komnenoi dismissed stipulations of canon law which went against secular orders. The corpus of Justinian contained decrees which allowed the use of ecclesiastical property for the sake of ransoming Christian prisoners of war. This contention was expressed in the *Novels* and in the *Institutes*:

The same punishments are reserved for those who, despite our decree, pledge, sell, or melt holy vessels in order to alienate them [...] except unless this happens for the ransoming of prisoners of war when by means of the alienation of lifeless treasures they free the people's souls from death and shackles.

Τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτιμίων φυλαττομένων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱερὰ σκεύη παρὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἢ ἐνεχθραζόντων ἢ πωλούντων ἢ χωνευόντων ἐπὶ ἐκποιήσῃ [...] πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γίνοιτο διὰ ἀνάρρυσιν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔνθα ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεροῦσι θανάτου καὶ δεσμῶν τῇ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐκποιήσῃ κειμηλίων.¹⁰²

Michael Angold lucidly exposed the significance of being the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon for Leo.¹⁰³ His bishopric was situated very close to Constantinople which gave the prelate the opportunity to visit the capital regularly. This made his see very precious and, despite the fact that virtually nothing is known about Leo's previous career, he must have been an established member of the episcopal bench before the Komnenian takeover (1081), if he could be appointed to such a place. Not only Alexios' 1086 *semeioma*,¹⁰⁴ but also Eustratios of Nikaia's *Dialogos* turned attention to Leo's authority among bishops and to his leading role in the episcopal synod (*synodos endemousa*) in the capital.¹⁰⁵ The Seljuk invasion of the late eleventh-century did not affect his see. In addition to this, the bishop of Chalcedon was the incumbent of the Church of Martyr Euphemia

¹⁰¹ *Al.* 5.2.2; Thomas, Glavinas, *Eris*, 60–63; *Private Religious Foundations*, 194; Glavinas, *Eris*, 60–63 is meticulous in this respect; Stephanou did not examine the legal side of the debate, while Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 193; and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 89 only referred to Justinian's *Novels*.

¹⁰² *Novel* 7.8, *CIC* 3: 59–60. See also *Novel* 120.10, *CIC* 3: 589; *Iust. Inst.* 2.1.7–9., *CIC* 1:10; *Iust. Inst.* 1.2.21. On the textual transmission of the Justinianic corpus until the eleventh century (including the transmission of texts written in Latin), see Z. Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, 2017), Ch. 5.

¹⁰³ Angold, *Church and Society*, 57. On the see of Chalcedon, see also Beck, *Kirche*, 165–166; Moulet, *Évêques*, 74.

¹⁰⁴ *Alex. Sem.* 118: Such a person whose words create a solemn air [...] and for a long time had an authoritative opinion regarding customs and laws of the church. τηλικούτος ἄνθρωπος, λόγῳ μὲν σεμνυνόμενος, [...] καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἔθῶν καὶ νομίμων διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου τελείως ἐσχηκῶς τὴν διάγνωσιν.

¹⁰⁵ *Dial.* 129: Whom we had for a long time leading member of the church and the synod. ἀλλ' ὄνπερ διὰ χρόνου πλείστου τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς συνόδου πρωτεύοντα ἔσχομεν.

in Constantinople which also meant the possession of its incomes.¹⁰⁶ This, together with revenues of the see of Chalcedon, gave the prelate such an independence, compared to other, especially Eastern colleagues, fleeing from the Seljukian expansion in Asia Minor, that Leo could defy the emperor and other metropolitans who opposed him.

Late 1081, the emperor forced the episcopal synod of Constantinople to support the initiative of melting down sacred objects for minting coins.¹⁰⁷ Leo of Chalcedon did not participate in the synodal session. Venance Grumel assumed that the absence had been his protest against Eustratios Garidas, the new patriarch whom the Komnenoi appointed.¹⁰⁸ Despite the fact that this cannot be supported by evidence, Grumel's idea is telling about the fact that the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate started as an antagonism between Leo and the new patriarch Eustratios Garidas which was first noted by Pelopidas Stephanou.¹⁰⁹

In March and April of 1082, Leo was not against Alexios I's initiative to defend the church and people from the intellectual threats that the teaching of the philosopher, John Italos allegedly brought about.¹¹⁰ According to Anna Komnene's portrayal, Leo became aware of the confiscations when he visited the capital and saw how the gates of the Chalcostrateia Church were stripped off its metal ornaments.¹¹¹ Its time is difficult to pinpoint, but definitely happened after the synod gave way to imperial confiscations late 1081, probably concurrently with John Italos' trial.

When Leo became aware of the confiscation, he appeared in public, exercised *parrhesia* and also addressed the Emperor in a letter.¹¹² As I have already referred to, I agree with the view to date the letter before Alexios' chrysobull which was issued in August 1082. Leo's *Letter to Alexios I* has not received satisfying scholarly attention. As I claim in Chapter One, the letter is a clear testimony of Leo's *parrhesia* and shows Leo as acting in the place of the weak patriarch, Eustratios Garidas.

¹⁰⁶ *Alex. Sem.* 340; Stephanou, 'Le procès', 12.

¹⁰⁷ *Al.* 5.2.2; Glavinas, *Eris*, 54–64; Stephanou, 'Le procès', 8–9; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 193; and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 89.

¹⁰⁸ Grumel, 'Semeioma', 334.

¹⁰⁹ It was claimed (Stephanou, 'Le procès', 12) that Leo defended the church instead of Patriarch Eustratios Garidas, the Komnenoi's appointee. It has been contended, too (Tiftxoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 43 and Angold, *Church and Society*, 46) that Leo was the accuser of Patriarch Garidas. Judith Ryder came to very similar conclusions regarding Leo's role in the early part of the controversy like myself: Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 172: 'Leo claims to be speaking on behalf of the entire Church, and of the deposed patriarch' and 175: 'Leo [...] is setting himself up as the arbiter of Orthodoxy'.

¹¹⁰ See J. Gouillard, 'Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien: les actes et leurs sous-entendus', *TM* 9 (1985), p. 141. l. 68 where Leo is mentioned. The metropolitan was present in the session of the trial when 'all the metropolitans' were called by the emperor to support his initiative. See also Stephanou, 'Le procès', 8–9. Lowell Clucas was right that Leo's doctrine on icons and the charge against John Italos's alleged thoughts on icons cannot be connected as Pelopidas Stephanou assumed, since Leo's icon theology dates later. See: P. Stephanou, *Jean Italos. Philosophe et humaniste* (Rome, 1949), 64–65; and L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Münich, 1981), 16.

¹¹¹ *Al.* 5.2.4.

¹¹² *Ep. Alex.* Its dating is debated, see above in the section presenting the sources and Glavinas, *Eris*, 80–87.

I am in accordance with Venance Grumel and Victor Tiftixoglou who contend that Leo's letter found open ears.¹¹³ The emperor repented and promised in his *chrysobull* issued in August 1082 not to confiscate church valuables any more. Moreover, in December 1083, Alexios I cleared himself from the charges by means of a public confession.¹¹⁴ On the basis of monastic inventories (βρέβια), a list of confiscated items was provided, furthermore, Anna Komnene's apologetic account also mentioned three churches which were compensated for their losses.¹¹⁵

Despite the fact that the Emperor repented, Leo did not rest satisfied. He accused patriarch Garidas of appropriating certain valuables and also of having been involved in Messalianist heresy.¹¹⁶ Notwithstanding that Garidas was cleared by an official investigation at the beginning of 1084, he renounced his see and patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (r. 1084–1111) was elected to his place during the summer. But for all that, Leo refused to concelebrate with the new patriarch and the episcopal synod in Constantinople with the alleged claim that Garidas' name was not deleted from the dipthychs and he was commemorated during the liturgy. There was probably something more behind that than Leo's stubbornness. Researchers have already tried to examine the social background of the Komnenian Iconoclasm without, in my view, much success. John Thomas failed in seeing Leo as the leader of a movement against the institution of *charistikion*, likewise Victoria Gerhold who suspected an alliance between the ecclesiastical elite and the Doukas branch of the imperial family.¹¹⁷ Chapter One contributes to scholarship in the understanding of Leo's position as the spiritual adviser of the Doukai.¹¹⁸ What is more, the chapter shows my new results about Leo's supporters. I argue that the prelate was not only backed by ecclesiastics, but was influenced by the senatorial elite's opposition against the new Komnenian rule.

In July 1085 Robert Guiscard died and Alexios returned from his campaign to Constantinople during the autumn.¹¹⁹ With the aim of securing peace in the capital and corroborate the unity of the church, Alexios I launched an investigation against Leo in December 1085.¹²⁰ After a series of synodal sessions, the prelate was finally censured (κατάγνωσις) in January 1086 on the basis of

¹¹³ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 109; Grumel, 'Semeioma', 339.

¹¹⁴ Al. 6.3; Glavinas, *Eris*, 87–92; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 195; and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 90.

¹¹⁵ Al. 6.3. It is an interesting detail that Anna Komnene in *Book 5* (5.2.6) reiterates that his father compensated the losses of church institutions, after having resorted to the expropriation of church valuables again in the wake of the Pecheneg invasion (1087). I did not find parallel evidence that Alexios I did so, so recording the event may be Anna's failure.

¹¹⁶ The main witness of the controversy from late 1083 to early 1086 is *Alex. Sem.* 116–128. See also Glavinas, *Eris*, 87–108; Stephanou, 'Le procès', 17–24; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 195–198; and Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 90–91.

¹¹⁷ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 192–199; Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"'. Judith Ryder also emphasised the political aspect of Leo's involvement, nonetheless, she did not define its nature, or details: Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 173.

¹¹⁸ P. 43–46.

¹¹⁹ Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns*, 177–184.

¹²⁰ *Alex. Sem.* 118.

insubordination towards the Emperor and of accusing patriarch Eustratios Garidas without a sound basis. The *lemma* of the 1086 *semeioma* referred to the deposition (καθαίρεσις) of the prelate and scholarship considered Leo's deposition as the outcome of the imperial judicial decree.¹²¹ Venance Grumel, however, hypothesised that Leo was only censured and not deposed from his office, since dethronement is mentioned only as part of the canons cited, as a theoretical outcome of the situation.¹²² My edition of Leo's *Apology* demonstrates that Grumel's assumption was right. Chapter Two presents the circumstances late in 1085 which led to the delivery of Leo's *Apologos* early in 1086.¹²³ The prelate was not deposed from office (καθαίρεσις) after the *semeioma* was issued, but he resigned his see (παράιτησις).¹²⁴ However, neither the episcopal synod, nor the emperor accepted Leo's decision, thus, he remained in office and delivered a canonical demonstration, the *Apologos*, about the impious nature of the expropriation of church objects.

At the beginning of 1087 the Pechenegs invaded Thrace and defeated the Byzantine army near Dristra in August 1087.¹²⁵ It is recorded in the *Alexiad* that Leo of Chalcedon appeared miraculously at the battlefield and saved the life of George Palaiologos, Alexios' trusted general.¹²⁶ This account fostered the modern scholarly image about Leo of Chalcedon as a holy man.¹²⁷ The interpretation of the passage, however, still puzzles researchers, therefore Chapter Three reexamines the apparition scenario and illuminates its so far hidden source and narrative role within the *Alexiad*.

The battle at Dristra is significant from another aspect, too, since, according to Anna's narrative, Alexios ordered a new confiscation of church property to ransom prisoners of war.¹²⁸ Other sources, such as John the Oxite and Nicholas Mouzalon also mentioned the second confiscation, however, the references are rather vague.¹²⁹

As Anna tells, Leo of Chalcedon fiercely criticised the emperor for alienating church objects again for the second time. The sequence of the events, as it is presented in the *Alexiad*, suggests that

¹²¹ Glavinas, *Eris*, 124–127.

¹²² Grumel, 'Semeioma', 340. Grumel's idea has not been taken into consideration by Glavinas (Glavinas, *Eris*, 124–127), but Thomas modified his chronology of the controversy accordingly (Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 198).

¹²³ P. 77–79.

¹²⁴ *Apol.* 9–16.

¹²⁵ M. Meško, 'Anna Komnene's Narrative of the War against the Scythians', *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 19 (2014), 60.

¹²⁶ *Al.* 7.4.1.

¹²⁷ F. i. Gautier, 'Blachernes', 215; B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: analyse prosopographique et synthèse*. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 174 fn. 18; M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (London, 1997), 72 fn. 302; Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 171; Dion Smythe, 'Alexios and the Heretics' in Alexios I Komnenos, eds. M. Mullett, D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), 257; P. Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene: Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth* (Cambridge, 2014), 156.

¹²⁸ See *Al.* 5.2.5 and 7.4.3.

¹²⁹ Glavinas, *Eris*, 135–138.

it was probably Leo's renewed dissatisfaction which entailed the prelate's deposition (καθαίρεσις).¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the date and circumstances of Leo's dethronement cannot be defined with certainty.¹³¹ Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates contended that after the second confiscation of church property, Leo launched a dogmatic discourse which brought about the prelate's deposition.¹³² This idea can be supported by Leo's correspondence which shows that the prelate wrote works (τὰ τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος [γράμματα])¹³³ about the veneration of icons before composing his *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*.¹³⁴ This may refer to the *Apologos* which contained a section about icon veneration and to Leo's *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ*. We only have a synopsis about the latter showing almost entirely the same tenets which Leo later stated in his *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople* and in his *Letter to Nicholas III*.¹³⁵ In addition to this, Anna emphasised the importance of 'malicious people' (χαϊρέκακοι ἄνδρες) in the imperial administration who incited the prelate against the regents. In Chapter One, I hypothesise that they were identical with malcontented members of the senatorial elite. Thus, as a consequence of Leo's opposition and critique after 1087, i. e. the second confiscation of church objects, Leo was deposed from office. There are later hints in Leo's correspondence which testify that Basil of Euchaita, who was Leo's ally, debated if the patriarchal *semeiosis* was valid.¹³⁶

Similar to the prelate's deposition, it is debated exactly how, to which place, and when Leo was banished to the Black Sea. As to its cause, the *Alexiad* refers to the deposed prelate's unquenchable opposition, to his insistence on his theological ideas, finally, as I interpret the evidence in Chapter One, to the scheme of noble people which Leo masterminded.¹³⁷ Regarding its location, Anna records that Leo stayed in Sozopolis,¹³⁸ while Choniates confirms Mesembria as the place of exile.¹³⁹ Leo hinted in one of his letters that there had been a fortress and a bishop which can be the case only with Sozopolis, as Glavinas demonstrated.¹⁴⁰ Concerning the date of the metropolitan's exile, Anna stated that this had happened long time (μετὰ πολλῶν ἐνιαυτῶν) after the deposition,¹⁴¹ on the contrary, Niketas Choniates testified that a short time-span (μετὰ μίκρον)

¹³⁰ *Al.* 5.2.5–6; Glavinas, *Eris*, 127, esp. fn. 56.

¹³¹ Glavinas, *Eris*, 126.

¹³² *Al.* 5.2.5–6.

¹³³ Lavriotes, "Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα", 413.

¹³⁴ Moreover, there is a hint that Nicholas of Hadrianople also contributed to the debate with written pieces which Isaac the *sebastokrator* read, see Lavriotes, "Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα", 413b l. 36–37.

¹³⁵ See the apparatus to the synopsis is Appendix 1 for the details.

¹³⁶ Lavriotes, "Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα", 413b l. 1–4.

¹³⁷ *Al.* 5.2.6. see below p. 50–51 and 64–65.

¹³⁸ *Al.* 5.2.2.

¹³⁹ Niketas Choniates, *Σύνοψις*, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Leo's letter to Maria of Bulgaria, *Ep. Mar.* 404: It was ordered in writing for the garrisons and to the bishop to take care of me. τὸ ἐν τηρήσει ἔχειν μὲ ἐγγράφως προσταχθῆναι τοὺς καστρώτας καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. Glavinas, *Eris*, 141.

¹⁴¹ *Al.* 5.2.6.

had elapsed between the two events. Alexander Glavinas hypothesised late 1087 as the date of his exile to the Black Sea, assuming that nothing left in the hand of the *basileus* after deposing Leo in 1086.¹⁴² Venance Grumel, who dated Leo's removal from office to 1087–1089,¹⁴³ defined 1089 as the year of the prelate's exile.¹⁴⁴ While these views cannot be ruled out, in Chapter One, on the basis of Anna's account and the rhythm of Alexios' rule, I position Leo's banishment to 1090–1091.¹⁴⁵

Notwithstanding the exile of the ecclesiastic, Leo remained in correspondence with his supporters who lived in the capital. The letters demonstrate that the Komnenian Iconoclast Controversy did not end with the banishment of the prelate. Basil of Euchaita who daringly questioned the canonical force of Leo's deposition bull, made statements about icon theology.¹⁴⁶ Nicholas of Hadrianople wrote the news to the exiled Leo that Basil had aimed at defending the standpoint of Leo's faction and had brought a theological piece to Isaac the *sebastokrator*. Nicholas presented in the letter that Isaac had not been able to compose a proper theological reply, thus had asked Basil himself to write it. For Nicholas and Leo it was the sign of betrayal. What is more, Leo of Chalcedon interpreted Basil's piece as if the metropolitan had accused Leo (and his allies) of *hylolatria*, i.e. with adoring the iconic material.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, Leo summarised his views on icons in his letter to his nephew, Nicholas, metropolitan of Hadrianople. The *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople* is the most substantial piece containing Leo's views on icon veneration. The letter, under unknown circumstances, was made public.

In parallel with Leo's exile Alexios I experienced continuous hardship. The emperor faced three conspiracies coming from his close confidants: in 1091, Konstantinos Humbertopoulos, the head of the Western mercenaries made a plot. In 1092 John Komnenos, Alexios' nephew came under suspicion. In early 1094, Alexios was almost assassinated in Nikephoros Diogenes' plot. At the same time, Alexios defeated the Pechenegs in 1091 at Lebonion. However, the Seljuk Tzachas, Emir of Smyrna occupied the Aegean Coastline and the islands and Alexios commanders attained only partial success. The emperor made an alliance with Kilij Arslan I (r. 1092–1107), Tzachas' son-in-law, who killed his relative during a banquet. From Nikaia to Antioch, Asia Minor came under Seljuk occupation.

In the internal and external turmoil, Alexios I grasped the occasion which *Leo's Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople* prompted. The letter became the subject of examination.¹⁴⁸ Isaac the

¹⁴² Glavinas, *Eris*, 138–139.

¹⁴³ 943.

¹⁴⁴ 952.

¹⁴⁵ See p. 53.

¹⁴⁶ Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα', 413; Glavinas, *Eris*, 151–157; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 581.

¹⁴⁷ Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα', 413: the passage is not clear enough, in my view, to pinpoint when the letter which survived from Basil's pen (Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα', 411b–413a3) was written.

¹⁴⁸ PG 127.972B.

sebastokrator replied in a treatise to Leo's tenets,¹⁴⁹ furthermore, Eustratios of Nikaia refuted the prelate's ideas in a Platonic dialogue and in a syllogistic demonstration.¹⁵⁰ The emperor assembled the greatest meetings during his reign in the throne room of the Blachernai Palace.¹⁵¹ Leo was allowed to return from his exile at the end of 1094 to participate in the event. In attendance upon a number of civilian and ecclesiastical leaders, the deposed prelate acknowledged that his views on icons were unorthodox. Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council were read as the point of reference on icon veneration, furthermore Leo publicly reconciled with Basil of Euchaita. The prelate was reinstalled in the see of Chalcedon and the controversy ended, giving place to a new period in Alexios' rule. Alexios' attention turned away from the church which he had tamed. One set of Alexios' intimates silently disappeared from the political scene giving place to a new one.¹⁵² Only some months after the Blachernai-synod, in March 1095, Alexios' envoys appeared in the Council of Piacenza to ask for help from pope Urban II (r. 1088–1099) which entailed the announcement of the Crusading movement.

¹⁴⁹ Grumel, 'Documents athonites', 123–125.

¹⁵⁰ Eustratios of Nikaia, *Dialogos*, and *Syllogistic Demonstration* ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Hildesheim, 1965²), 127–151; 151–160.

¹⁵¹ PG 127.972B–984D; Gautier, 'Blachernes', 213–284.

¹⁵² See Frankopan's analysis: Frankopan, 'Kinship', 1–34, and also P. Frankopan, 'Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family in Comnenian Byzantium: Where Blood is not Thicker Than Water', *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. D. Lauxtermann, M. Whittow (London, New York, 2017), 181–197.

3. INTEREST AND PROBLEMATIK OF THE TOPIC

A look at the chronology of the early Komnenian Debate on icons and the review of the scholarship about the controversy suggest revisiting some questions and answering some new ones. These concern the methodology in explaining details of the controversy, the sources of the debate, such as Anna's antagonising representations about Leo in Book 5 and Book 7 of the *Alexiad*, Leo's role, its development or change in the course of the debate, Leo's relationship with different social and institutional groups, such as the ruling elite, the senatorial elite, and the ecclesiastics. As they constitute a scholarly novelty, I summarise them in the following points.

First, scholarship so far has not paid satisfying attention to the fact that the sources about Leo were composed between 1081 and 1154, despite the fact that the controversy itself took place only between 1081 and 1094. If one adds the period of the formative years for Leo of Chalcedon, his youth and education, this time span can be extended to the 1060s, if not earlier. Therefore, the picture which can be drawn about Leo of Chalcedon is influenced by three historical contexts: that of the second half of the eleventh-century; the period of the accession of the Komnenian dynasty and the first part of this realm extending to the death of John II Komnenos (1143); finally, the first roughly fifteen years of the reign of Manuel I (r. 1143–1180) when a fierce dynastic competition started between the grandson Manuel, his father John II, and the grandfather Alexios I, concurrently with, and as the result of, the elaboration of the young Manuel's self-representation. Anna Komnene composed the most coherent narrative about the Komnenian Iconoclasm in her *Alexiad* during the third phase, in this milieu of fierce dynastic competition.

Second, in connection with the first point, I believe that Leo of Chalcedon's self-representation and representation by other parties consist of consciously crafted images. From the few sources from the pen of the prelate, from his supporters and adversaries who were both lay and ecclesiastical, different images derive. I handled these different sources with the network-theory in mind, applied also in the historical sciences. In other words, I pay attention the fact that the sources regarding the Komnenian Iconoclasm not only differ chronologically, but also derive from members of different groups whose relationship with Leo I also assess in the dissertation.

Third, in the course of my research, I followed up Alexander Glavinas' hint to the manuscript Escor. Y. 2.7. (262) in the Libray of the Escorial Palace. This codex contains Leo of Chalcedon's apologetic oration which was delivered in the first half of 1086.¹⁵³ The edition and analysis of the *Apology* gives insight into Leo's canonical and juristic expertise which was an unknown field regarding the prelate's *paideia*.

¹⁵³ Glavinas, *Eris*, 109–112.

Fourth, Leo was a holy man. Despite the fact that this was the opinion of the metropolitan's contemporaries and it is noted by modern scholars, too, this aspect of the prelate's figure has not been sufficiently investigated. The present thesis investigates the roles which Leo played as a holy man *and* bishop, related to different groups in the contemporary society. As the overview of Leo's career proves, the prelate was banished to the Black Sea, therefore at least for certain interest groups, Leo's activities were undesirable. As it is analysed in Chapter Three, miraculous events were connected to Leo's personage which are concomitant elements of a saint's cult in its naissance. Nevertheless, Leo can be considered only a 'would-be-saint', since he has not been established as a saint either in the twelfth century, or later.

4. METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

In the course of this thesis, I make the close reading of a series of texts. In addition to the analysis of the sources, the comparative approach, involving texts, people, historical contexts and phenomena, constitutes the means upon which the results of my examination are based. Furthermore, I seek to understand Leo of Chalcedon's societal position as a holy man and bishop by using network approach.¹⁵⁴ The sources of the Komnenian Iconoclasm do not allow to present the metropolitan's intricate relationships in a detailed network study.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the results of accepted historical methods can be complemented and enhanced with an approach in mind which stresses the social relations of Leo, the interaction of his adversaries and supporters, even diachronically.

In order to present Leo's position and role in late eleventh-century Constantinople, I organised the material following primarily thematic concerns. The application of a chronological approach was important, too, as Leo of Chalcedon's self-representation and the image which others created about him changed in the course of time. The Komnenian Iconoclast Debate escalated, Leo took up novel roles, moreover, many decades after the controversy ended, Anna Komnene wrote

¹⁵⁴ For an introduction, see J. Scott, P. J. Carrington, *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles, 2011). For further bibliography, visit <http://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/Bibliography.html> [accessed 22 Aug 2018]. J. Preiser-Kapeller's publications give an insight into the multifaceted application of historical network analysis, see <https://oeaw.academia.edu/JohannesPreiserKapeller/CurriculumVitae> [accessed 22 Aug 2018].

¹⁵⁵ For outstanding examples, see: Mullett, *Theophylact*; A. M. Schor, *Theodoret's People. Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 2011); N. Gaul, 'All The Emperor's Men (And His Nephews): Paideia and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320', *DOP* 70 (2016), 153–78; M. Grünbart, 'Paideia Connects: The Interaction between Teachers and Pupils in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', *Networks of Learning in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200*, ed. S. Steckel, N. Gaul, M. Grünbart (Berlin, 2014), 17–31.

about the prelate again in circumstances which require a separate treatment. On the basis of what has been discussed so far, the overview of the dissertation is as follows.

The first chapter examines the relations and network of Leo, the holy man and bishop. First, I emphasise Leo's role as a metropolitan acting in lieu of the weak patriarch Eustratios Garidas. Afterwards, the scope is directed towards the prelate's connection with members of the extended ruling family, namely the Doukas-branch. Leo is portrayed in comparison to other holy men in Alexios I's entourage and it is argued that Leo was the spiritual adviser of Maria of Bulgaria. In addition to this, a similar relationship might have linked the prelate with Alexios' wife Eirene Doukaina and George Palaiologos. The third section of Chapter One enquires into the question who were the 'bad people' with whom Leo was associated in the sources. The hypothesis is made that Leo's opposition was also supported by members of the dissatisfied senatorial elite. Finally, the Chapter sheds light on those churchmen, mainly metropolitan bishops, who participated in Leo's faction.

Chapter Two gives a thorough insight into Leo's *paideia*, i. e. erudition. First, the prelate's canonical *psogos*, the *Apology* is surveyed. The oration, which is first published in Appendix 3 of the dissertation, is analysed from a plethora of aspects and demonstrates that Leo of Chalcedon had a solid expertise in canon and secular law. The second section in Chapter Two examines Leo's icon theology to clarify whether Leo's icon theology is 'poorly constructed', as it has been asserted by the metropolitan's contemporaries and modern scholars, too.

In the third chapter the miraculous events associated with Leo of Chalcedon are put to the centre. The chapter takes under scrutiny the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* and shows that the series of clashes between Alexios I and Leo of Chalcedon reminded the dream's author of the conduct of patriarch Michael Keroularios (r. 1043–1058) against imperial authority. In the second part of Chapter Three Leo's apparition scenario at the battlefield of Dristra (1087) is examined in great detail. The subchapter studies Anna Komnene's historical methodology with particular regard to miracles and hagiographical elements in the *Alexiad*. It is assumed that the core text of the scenario is based on a lost biographical source concerning George Palaiologos. The section argues that Anna took into account the late eleventh-century, as well as the mid twelfth-century discourse on the Komnenian Iconoclasm and the ecclesiastical policy of the respective rulers. The porphyrogenete's sophisticated narrative defends Alexios I's position and portrays Leo of Chalcedon as acting as a saintly intercessor on behalf of the imperial family in the battle.

CHAPTER ONE. LEO OF CHALCEDON: SUPPORTERS AND ADVERSARIES. THE NETWORK OF THE HOLY MAN AND BISHOP

Anna Komnene singled out that Leo of Chalcedon had his own faction (μέρος), a circle of followers.¹⁵⁶ Michael Angold emphasised that Leo had connections which reached the highest ranks of society, one of the metropolitan's contacts was Maria of Bulgaria, Alexios' mother-in-law.¹⁵⁷ Alexander Glavinas stated that not only churchmen, such as Nicholas of Hadrianople, but George Palaiologos and Maria of Bulgaria had supported Leo, too.¹⁵⁸ Victoria Gerhold made the most complex hypothesis about Leo's network.¹⁵⁹ The researcher assumed that Leo was the port-parole of the 'mouvement chalcédonien'. In her view, it was 'une alliance des Doukai avec les officiers civils and avec une partie des ecclésiastiques'.¹⁶⁰ The Doukai formed an alliance with discontented ecclesiastics and malcontent members of the senatorial elite. According to Gerhold's train of thought, after their fall from power with the accession of the Komnenoi, the discontented civilian elite schemed against Alexios I Komnenos.¹⁶¹ What is more, they supported the Doukas family as the branch which competed for power against the Komnenian branch of the united imperial family. The ecclesiastics were the third group in the alliance, whom Gerhold did not precisely define in the study. She only referred to them as the dissatisfied churchmen whom Leo represented. Gerhold used Leo's relationship with George Palaiologos to create a link between the churchmen and the Doukai.

The nodes in the network which Gerhold drew up, namely the churchmen, the Doukai, and the senatorial elite, played significant roles in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclasm. However, the existence of edges which link the nodes in her hypothetical network, are debatable. First and foremost, it cannot be substantiated that the Doukai participated in any conspiracy against Alexios I, neither is their connection with scheming members of the senatorial elite tenable. Furthermore, I believe that Leo was in connection with the dissatisfied senatorial elite, nonetheless, I did not find evidence that the Doukai mediated between Leo and the senators. Finally, Leo's relationship with the Doukai, and the question of Leo's ecclesiastical supporters needs more clarification. The following chapter revisits elements in Gerhold's hypothesis: Leo's relationship with the Doukas family, the metropolitan's connection with the senatorial elite, Leo's network among ecclesiastics.

¹⁵⁶ *Al.* 5.2.6.

¹⁵⁷ Angold, *Church and Society*, 47.

¹⁵⁸ Glavinas, *Eris*, 130–132.

¹⁵⁹ Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 87–104.

¹⁶⁰ Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 99–100.

¹⁶¹ Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 99.

In addition to this, the role which Leo of Chalcedon played after the abdication of patriarch Kosmas I is also examined.

1. LEO AND THE PATRIARCHS

It was Venance Grumel who emphasised already in 1941 that the Komnenian Iconoclasm started as an antagonism between Leo of Chalcedon and patriarch Eustratios Garidas.¹⁶² Two years later, Pelopidas Stephanou stated that during the early part of the debate Leo defended the interests of the church in lieu of patriarch Eustratios Garidas who was the Komnenoi's appointee.¹⁶³ Victor Tiftixoglou and Michael Angold concordantly presented Leo as the accuser of patriarch Garidas whom he held responsible for the alienation of church property.¹⁶⁴ Judith Ryder came to the conclusion regarding Leo's role in the early part of the controversy that Leo had talked on behalf of the entire church and of the deposed patriarch Kosmas, moreover, the prelate had acted as an arbiter of orthodoxy.¹⁶⁵ The following section, on the one hand, follows these opinions regarding the role which Leo played at the beginning of the Komnenian Iconoclasm, on the other hand, complements their views by demonstrating that Leo's activities during the year 1082 followed the pattern set by other eleventh-century prelates, particularly Kosmas I.

Leo of Chalcedon in the summer of 1082 in his *Letter to Alexios I* demanded the reinstatement of the former patriarch Kosmas I:

The entire church speaks on behalf of the most holy patriarch [Kosmas]...If you order the return of patriarch [Kosmas], following the rulings of the holy canons, you save yourself, us, and what is according to the good order. Moreover, you demonstrate that patriarch [Kosmas] is more honourable than many patriarchs.

ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου πατριάρχου λαλεῖ...εἰ κελεύεις κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας τὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου γενέσθαι κάθοδον, σῶσεις καὶ σαυτόν, καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην πολλῶν δεῖξεις πατριαρχῶν ἐντιμότερον.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Grumel, 'Semeioma', 334. Grumel's idea that Leo attacked the patriarch instead of the emperor, because Alexios I could not be blamed as being 'trop haut pour être accusé' ('Semeioma', 334) can not be verified, as later events of the controversy prove. See also Glavinas, *Eris*, 85.

¹⁶³ Stephanou, 'Le procès', 12.

¹⁶⁴ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 42–43; Angold, *Church and Society*, 46.

¹⁶⁵ Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 172 and 175.

¹⁶⁶ *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 6–9.

1.1. KOSMAS, THE 'HOLY PATRIARCH'

The abdication of patriarch Kosmas I (1075–1081) and the instalment of Eustratios Garidas as his successor (1081–1084) was one of Alexios' first measures in the field of ecclesiastical policy. It was an issue related to dynastic manoeuvres.¹⁶⁷ Alexios Komnenos accession of power happened in the crossfire of the Doukai and the Komnenoi which culminated in a fierce debate over Eirene Doukaina's coronation as empress. This antagonism was connected particularly with the person of Anna Dalassene, Alexios' mother and its roots reached back to the year 1077. When Andronikos Doukas' death was approaching, Maria of Bulgaria, Andronikos' wife, did not want her children to remain without a protector. Thus, she started to negotiate for the marriage between Eirene, her eldest daughter and Alexios Komnenos. The marriage eventually took place in 1078, but was continuously opposed by Anna Dalassene, Alexios' mother. Her opposition was based on her old grievance that she had towards the *kaisar* John Doukas, Maria Bulgaria's father-in-law and his entire household.¹⁶⁸ She resented first that Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–1067) seized the throne in 1059 instead of John Komnenos, Anna Dalassena's husband;¹⁶⁹ second her exile which happened during the short reign of Eudokia in 1071 and was practically the result of John Doukas' coup d'état.¹⁷⁰

During the Komnenian revolt in 1081, Maria of Bulgaria persuaded George Palaiologos, her son-in-law, to support the Komnenos-family. The marriage alliance between the Doukas and Komnenos families was the reason why Alexios became the *basileus* instead of his brother Isaac. Once Alexios was in power, Anna Dalassene did not disguise her hostility towards the Doukas family¹⁷¹ which did not seem to change over the later years of Alexios' reign.

The role of patriarch Kosmas I in the peaceful course of the Komnenian revolt was central and decisive. Kosmas was a monk who arrived from Jerusalem to Constantinople.¹⁷² The choice of the emperor Michael VII Doukas fell to him, because he was renowned for his piety. Kosmas exercised all kinds of bodily mortification, following the example of late antique hermits. This invested him with an ascetic authority which all the sources unanimously attributed to him. In addition to this, he made prophecies which were considered as unfailing by the contemporaries.

By contrast, Kosmas was not a *pepaideumenos*. After the patriarchate of John VIII Xiphilinos (r. 1064–1075), Kosmas' predecessor, who was a leading juristic expert of his age, it was a significant difference. Xiphilinos was not only a lawyer, but a prelate with a strong conscience of his superiority over the secular ruler in which he followed the example of Michael Keroularios.

¹⁶⁷ É. Malamut, *Alexis I^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 2007), 194–195.

¹⁶⁸ *Bryen.* 221.

¹⁶⁹ *Bryen.* 81.

¹⁷⁰ *Bryen.* 129–130.

¹⁷¹ *Al.* 3.2.2.

¹⁷² See PBW (2016), Kosmas 11 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Kosmas/11/>], accessed 5 Nov 2018.

Constantine Doukas' assumed expectation¹⁷³ that such a meek patriarch would not exercise significant political influence failed. Clergymen, headed by the exiled Antiochene patriarch Aimilianos, John of Side and the metropolitan of Ikonion, acted as protagonists in the overthrow of Michael VII Doukas and in Nikephoros III Botaneiates' entry to power. Alexios Komnenos, being at the beginning of his career as a military leader, suggested Michael VII to use force against the prelates who schemed against him, but the emperor chose the peaceful way and abdicated. Kosmas led the synod which voted for the consecration of Michael VII as a monk in the Stoudios monastery and, at the same time, the same Kosmas performed the consecration of the deposed ruler as the metropolitan of Ephesus.¹⁷⁴ Nikephoros Botaneiates' rule was largely based on the support of the church. Kosmas was conscious of this fact and acted as the head of an episcopal synod which cooperated with the emperor, supporting the *basileus* in his political decisions.¹⁷⁵ During the Komnenian revolt in 1081, it was Kosmas who persuaded Nikephoros III Botaneiates to abdicate in order to prevent bloodshed.

The scenario was recorded in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* at the end of Book 2.¹⁷⁶ In Anna's highly visual composition, the reader sees the long line of imperial bodyguards, ready to defend the city from the armies of the Komnenoi and Doukai; the entry of patriarch Kosmas whose eulogy is the most detailed testimony about the prelate; Kosmas' dialogue with Botaneiates; and, finally, the abdication of the emperor who seeks asylum in the Hagia Sophia. In Anna's narrative, the scene demonstrates that it was God's will that the Komnenoi gained power.¹⁷⁷ Anna also gave this explanation to the mouth of the patriarch who plays the role of the holy man, the spokesman of the divine will in this scenario. This also explains Anna's detailed eulogy of Kosmas as a holy man which is a rare find in the *Alexiad*.¹⁷⁸ As part of the details, Anna's pen also preserved two hints which are worth considering. First, that John Doukas, the *kaisar* suggested Kosmas to persuade Botaneiates to abdicate; second that the same John Doukas was in a friendly liason with Kosmas. Concerning the latter, Anna wrote: 'The *kaisar* who behaved in a friendly manner with him [i.e. Kosmas] due to Kosmas' outstanding virtue. τοῦ καίσαρος καὶ πάλαι φιλίως πρὸς αὐτὸν [i.e. Κοσμάν] διακειμένου διὰ τὸ ὕψος τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς'.¹⁷⁹ The surviving sources preserve little information about Kosmas' network: it is known that he was the head and core member of the episcopal synod. The nature of Kosmas' relationship with John Doukas is difficult to define. Taking

¹⁷³ As it is portrayed by Michael Angold: *Church and Society*, 38.

¹⁷⁴ *Dar. Doc.* § 909.

¹⁷⁵ See *Dar. Doc.* § 914a; Angold, *Church and Society*, 38–39.

¹⁷⁶ *Al.* 2.12.4.

¹⁷⁷ On the representation of the Komnenian accession as God's will (τὸ δόξαν Θεῶ), see also Zonaras' *Epitome*: *Zon.* 3: 730. l. 19.

¹⁷⁸ Anna use of the divine is always on purpose, see the second unit of Chapter Three below.

¹⁷⁹ *Al.* 2.12.4.

into account the fact that Kosmas was a holy man, it can be speculated that John Doukas was looking at the prelate also as an oraculum. However, the surviving evidence does not testify that Kosmas would have been John Doukas' spiritual father.¹⁸⁰ On the basis of what has been said, it can be concluded that Anna Komnene not only presented Kosmas as a saintly person, but also member of a network which had ties with the Doukai. Kosmas' stance in Eirene Doukaina's coronation also points to this direction.

After Alexios Komnenos had entered Constantinople, he was acclaimed emperor.¹⁸¹ The navy, led by George Palaiologos, husband of Anna Doukaina, thus core member of the Doukas family, had supported Alexios and Isaac's scheme and march against the capital.¹⁸² During the acclamation, as Anna Komnene presented, members of the Komnenian party tried to silence the sailors of George Palaiologos, not to acclaim Eirene as empress, together with Alexios as emperor.¹⁸³ George Palaiologos is portrayed to act for Eirene's sake and promote her cause.

In addition to this, Anna Komnene also mentioned the gossip that Alexios had in mind to marry the ex-basilissa Maria (of Alania), the wife of two preceding emperors.¹⁸⁴ Maria of Alania remained in the imperial palace, together with her son, Constantine Doukas. The Komnenoi stayed in the same place after seizing Constantinople, but the Doukai were located in the lower palace, so in another building which separated Eirene and Alexios. Rumors, therefore, rose about plans of union between Alexios and the ex-basilissa. Anna Komnene, on the one hand, presented her father as non-willing to do so, and members of the Doukas family as not yielding to such rumors.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, Anna also reported the anxiety of the Doukai because of Anna Dalassene's malevolence towards them. As Anna Dalassene was against Alexios Komnenos' marriage with Eirene Doukaina earlier, there was a chance that the 'mother of the Komnenoi' might negotiate a new marriage for her son. Finally, patriarch Kosmas crowned Alexios alone. The Doukai had to wait for seven days until Eirene was crowned, too. During those days, as Anna's account goes, John Doukas the *kaisar* negotiated to drive out the ex-basilissa from the palace. John achieved this in close coordination with patriarch Kosmas. The *kaisar* convinced in secret Kosmas to promote Eirene's cause and not to obey the pressure by Anna Dalassene.¹⁸⁶ Anna Komnene described these

¹⁸⁰ PBW (2016), Ioannes 62 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Ioannes/62/>], accessed 5 Nov 2018.

¹⁸¹ The details of the Komnenian revolt and accession to power are reported in detail by Anna Komnene (Al. 3.1.1–3.3.5) and Zonaras (Zon. p. 726–731 and p. 734, l. 1–8). Eirene's coronation is only mentioned by Zonaras (Zon. p. 733, l. 15), the other events, we are aware of, derive from Anna.

¹⁸² For the narrative role of the figure of George Palaiologos in the passage, see P. Frankopan, 'Aristocratic Family Narratives in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. I. Tóth, C. Teresa M. (Cambridge, 2019), 325–328.

¹⁸³ Al. 3.1.1.

¹⁸⁴ Al. 3.1.2.

¹⁸⁵ Al. 3.1.2.

¹⁸⁶ Al. 3.2.3. l. 10.

details almost tangentially, nonetheless John Doukas' efforts were emphasised (τὸν πατριάρχην Κοσμᾶν παντοίως ὑπεποιεῖτο) and the fierce struggle for power in the background is perceivable. Anna was trying to insert elements which might have directed the reader's attention to other things than the clashes between Anna Dalassene and members of the Doukas family: an excursus on John Doukas' wise solution of Maria of Alania's second marriage;¹⁸⁷ a Chinese box-like internal description of Maria of Alania's beauty.¹⁸⁸ What is more, the antagonism between Anna Dalassene and the Kosmas-John Doukas alliance was projected to a struggle between the 'holy' patriarch Kosmas and his successor Eustratios Garidas who was portrayed as a fake prophet. The fact that Kosmas used his ascetic and patriarchal authority to circumvent the plan of the Komnenoi, masterminded by Anna Dalassene and crowned Eirene Doukaina seven days after Alexios' coronation, is not the message which the *Alexiad* meant to broadcast primarily. Peter Frankopan hypothesised about Zonaras' *Epitome* that it complements information which are not, or only fadingly included in the *Alexiad*.¹⁸⁹ Kosmas' final acts before his abdication is a case which supports this supposition. The *Epitome* presented Kosmas who abdicated because 'he was displeased with the handling of the public affairs [by the Komnenoi] and despaired of rectifying those. τῇ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων μεταχειρίσει ἀπαρεσκόμενος καὶ ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν διόρθωσιν'.¹⁹⁰

The patriarch's action to force the Komnenoi to repent after the sack of Constantinople upon their entry during the revolt, also demonstrates Kosmas' capacity as a powerful prelate.¹⁹¹ Both Anna Komnene and John Zonaras underlined how ruthlessly the Komnenoi's troops pillaged Constantinople after they entered the city.¹⁹² Public places were despoiled, churches looted, nuns violated, and members of the political elite humiliated. Alexios was blamed throughout his reign for this misdeed, moreover, after his death, as well.¹⁹³ Anna Komnene used the figure of patriarch Kosmas to cleanse her father and his relatives' memory from the guilt.¹⁹⁴ The *Alexiad* presents Alexios going to his mother, Anna Dalassene, to reveal his bad conscience. Afterwards, Anna Dalassene and his son summoned the patriarch, members of the episcopal synod, and monks. The ecclesiastics imposed different penances (sleeping on the ground, fasting) on Alexios, his family, and those who were responsible for the pillage. Since there is no other source about the event, it is difficult to assess Anna Dalassene's role in the negotiations with Kosmas. Taking into account

¹⁸⁷ *Al.* 3.2.3. l. 15–3.2.6. l. 51.

¹⁸⁸ *Al.* 3.2.4.

¹⁸⁹ P. Frankopan, *The Foreign Policy of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–c. 1100)*, PhD diss. (Oxford, 1998), 20–47.

¹⁹⁰ *Zon.* p. 734. l. 2–3.

¹⁹¹ *Dar. Doc.* § 917.

¹⁹² *Zon.* p. 734. l. 2–3; *Al.* 3.5.1–4.

¹⁹³ See f. i. John the Oxite's critique below in Chapter Three.

¹⁹⁴ *Al.* 3.5.2–6.

Kosmas' previous activities during his patriarchate, the most plausible version may be that Kosmas, based on his authority, imposed the penances on the Komnenoi before his abdication. After Alexios' accession to power, the patriarch proved to be stronger than members of the reigning family which must have been humiliating for them.¹⁹⁵ Anna Komnene used the scenario to strengthen the image of Anna Dalassene as a religious φιλομόναχος in union with her entire family. In fact, Kosmas' action of imposing penances could have been a reason for the Komnenoi to work on diminishing the authority of the church.

1.2. THE APPOINTMENT OF EUSTRATIOS GARIDAS

The election of Eustratios Garidas as new patriarch was a straightforward step towards this aim. Eustratios Garidas was a eunuch and a monk whom the sources present in a negative light. Neither his erudition, nor his ascetic authority were praised.¹⁹⁶ Garidas' main virtue seems to be that he made prophecies to Anna Dalassene about the forthcoming power of the Komnenoi.¹⁹⁷ After his election, Eustratios Garidas did not oppose the initiative of the new lords to confiscate church property for the employment of mercenaries against the invading Norman armies. This happened, as I have already exposed, in late 1081, or in early 1082.

Roughly at the same time, John Italos, Michael Psellos' successor as *hypatos ton philosophon*, sought refuge with patriarch Garidas.¹⁹⁸ Eustratios Garidas turned to the philosopher with open ears and he was convinced by some of his arguments. This entailed a popular unrest against the philosopher: the populace of Constantinople ran to the Hagia Sophia and tried to lynch Italos. The *pepaideumenos* escaped by climbing to the roof of the church and hid himself in a hole. Patriarch Eustratios Garidas did not manage to control the situation and handed over the issue to the emperor. Alexios I assembled a synod which, in subsequent phases in March and April of 1082, disapproved Italos' supposed ideas and also castigated his disciples. We have our first record about Leo of Chalcedon as member of the synod which condemned the teaching of John Italos.¹⁹⁹ There is no surviving evidence that Leo disliked the imperial standpoint in the case of John Italos. As member of the synod, he must have been aware of the steps which led to the condemnation of the philosopher, thus he also knew about Garidas' ineptitude to tackle with Italos' case. Nevertheless,

¹⁹⁵ As Michael Angold interpreted: *Church and Society*, 46.

¹⁹⁶ PBW (2016) Eustratios 11 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Eustratios/11/>] accessed 5 Nov 2018.

¹⁹⁷ *Al.* 3.2.7.

¹⁹⁸ On John Italos career with further literature, see most recently A. Kraft, I. Perczel, 'John Italos on the Eternity of the World', *BZ* 111, 3 (2018), 663–667.

¹⁹⁹ Gouillard, 'Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien', p. 141. l. 68.

in the surviving sources there is not trace that Leo attacked Eustratios Garidas for his leniency towards the philosopher.²⁰⁰

1.3. LEO OF CHALCEDON: A PARRHESIASTES ON BEHALF OF THE CHURCH

In parallel with the trial of John Italos, the confiscation of church objects started. Based on Anna's statement, Leo of Chalcedon appeared in public after the gold and silver ornaments were taken away from the doors of the Chalkoprateia church.²⁰¹ The first written testimony about Leo's stance in the debate is his *Letter to Alexios I*. The occasion which prompted Leo to appear in public, was the Chalkoprateia affair and the confiscation of church and monastic treasures, nonetheless, Leo was talking on behalf of the entire church (ἡ ἐκκλησία πᾶσα· ὅσοι χριστιανοὶ καὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ εἰσίν).²⁰² Leo began his letter with the statement that the church was the subject of an outrage and insult (τὰς ὕβρεις ἃς ὑπέστη).²⁰³ Moreover, it also suffered intentional wrongdoing (ἀδίκημα) in a juristic-canonical sense.²⁰⁴ This, in the prelate's view, is equal with insulting God himself, and despising the heavenly Sion of God which is embodied already in the earthly church.²⁰⁵ The metropolitan likened the church to the mother of the Christians which cares for its members.²⁰⁶ Leo clarified the standpoint of the letter, before talking in further detail about the nature of the ὕβρις:

When we see the church being insulted, in what other way could we remunerate for so many benefactions, unless we talk [for her] and we act as her public advocate, who have the capacity to defend her?

ταύτην [i.e. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] ὀρώντες ὑβριζομένην, εἰμὴ λαλοῦμεν, εἰμὴ ἐκδικοῦμεν οἷς ἐστὶν ἰσχύς ἐκδικεῖν, τί ἂν ἄλλο τῶν τοσούτων εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτῇ ἀντιδοίημεν;²⁰⁷

Afterwards, Leo enlisted which institutions had suffered from the expropriation of church treasures: monasteries, hermitages, religious houses, and ordinary churches.²⁰⁸ It is clear from the

²⁰⁰ Cf. Glavinas, *Eris*, 85 who claimed that 'ἡ ἐπίθεσις τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ τοῦ Εὐστρατίου [...] ἐνισχύθη περὶ τὸν Μάρτιον-Ἀπρίλιον μὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ', but I do not see the textual basis.

²⁰¹ *Al.* 5.2.4.

²⁰² *Ep. Alex.* 403b l. 13–14.

²⁰³ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 3.

²⁰⁴ *LSJ* 23 s. v. 'ἀδίκημα'.

²⁰⁵ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 11; 12.

²⁰⁶ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 18–19.

²⁰⁷ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 18–20.

²⁰⁸ *Ep. Alex.* 403b l. 17–28.

letter that Leo blamed patriarch Eustratios Garidas for ordering the confiscation in person.²⁰⁹ This was the basis for demanding the return (κάθοδος) of Kosmas, the previous patriarch.²¹⁰ When reading these lines, the reader has to keep in mind the recent abdication of patriarch Kosmas, the political turmoil, and the antagonism around his dismissal. There is a bitterness in Leo's wording regarding Eustratios Garidas: Kosmas is the 'most holy' (ἀγιώτατος) and 'honourable' (ἐντιμος). Eustratios Garidas, in Leo's view, only deserves death under the gates of the Chalkoprateia church, if he denies that he ordered the confiscation.²¹¹

Leo's aim was to involve the *basileus* into the issue. This is clear from the fact that the prelate suggested that the emperor should have ordered Kosmas' reinstallation to the patriarchal see.²¹² On the one hand, Leo was polite in the letter and observed customs of court ritual. As a token of this, the metropolitan promoted the image about the new regime as instituted by God: ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλείας σου.²¹³ This was an image whose propagation is attested in both Zonaras' *Epitome* and in the *Alexiad*.²¹⁴ The prelate addressed Alexios as 'moved by God' (θεοκίνητε), 'holy' (ἅγιε), 'elected by God' (θεόληπτε), and 'the most righteous' (δικαιότατε). On the other hand, Leo of Chalcedon made assertions which meant to threaten the emperor: on the day of judgement Alexios I would face God who is unjustly treated by the expropriation of the valuables of his church.²¹⁵ When emphasising God's future wrath against the emperor and the entire Christian community, Leo made exaggerating statements: the whole church talks on behalf of the holy patriarch Kosmas; in defence of the entire empire of the Romans (ὕπὲρ τῆς Ρωμανίας πάσης); for the redemption of Constantinople; and in defence of the God-given reign of Alexios I (ὕπὲρ τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλείας σου).²¹⁶ At first glimpse, these can be dismissed as rhetorical exaggerations with which Leo of Chalcedon alarmed the emperor to listen to the prelate's words and add emphasis to his previous sentences about the day of judgement. However, at the beginning of the letter, Leo used the first person singular: 'my holy Lord' (δέσποτά μου ἅγιε),²¹⁷ but afterwards he shifted the focus to the church.²¹⁸ Subsequently, the prelate used the first person in the plural which not only meant

²⁰⁹ *Ep. Alex.* 403b l. 37: Did he dare to commit any of the things which has been said, or not? ἐτόλμησέ τι τῶν εἰρημένων ἢ οὐ; Documents from later part of the controversy also prove that Leo was of this opinion, such as Alexios' *semeioma* (Jan 1086), *Alex. Sem.* 118: The bishop of Chalcedon himself saw the Patriarch [Garidas] as the person who himself was responsible for the alienation of sacred objects. ὁ Χαλκηδόνης αὐτὸς μὲν τὸν πατριάρχην ἰδεῖν αὐτουργὸν τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένης ἀφαιρέσεως.

²¹⁰ *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 6–9.

²¹¹ *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 35–38.

²¹² *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 6.

²¹³ *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 5.

²¹⁴ *Zon.* p. 730. l. 19; for the *Alexiad*, see my observations on the Komnenian rebellion and Kosmas' role above.

²¹⁵ *Ep. Alex.* 403b l. 50–51.

²¹⁶ *Ep. Alex.* 404a l. 2–5.

²¹⁷ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 1.

²¹⁸ *Ep. Alex.* 403a l. 2: Lo and behold, the church cries aloud with greater freedom than usually. Ἰδοὺ παρρησιαστικώτερον ἢ ἐκκλησία βοᾷ.

himself, but, as he clearly worded: ‘Who is who says this: the entire church: as many Christians are called and there are. τίς ὁ λέγων ἡ ἐκκλησία πᾶσα ὅσοι χριστιανοὶ καὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ εἰσίν’.²¹⁹ Leo addressed Alexios I in his letter as port-parole of the entire church, so all the words which are written in the letter on behalf of the church can be seen as expressions with which the metropolitan identified himself. The eleventh-century witnessed metropolitans, such as John of Side, who were involved in imperial decision-making and filled secular positions at court, so the model of a politically active prelate was not alien to Leo’s mind.²²⁰ The overview of the patriarch Kosmas’ reign demonstrated that, based on his ascetic and patriarchal authority, Kosmas had counterbalanced the will of such political actors as Anna Dalassene. Leo’s appearance in the public scenario can be seen as a continuation of such an ecclesiastical authority, since the reigning patriarch Eustratios was not able to oppose new initiatives of the Komnenoi.

²¹⁹ *Ep. Alex.* 403.

²²⁰ On John of Side, see PBW (2016) Ioannes 102 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Ioannes/102/>] accessed 6 Nov 2018. On metropolitans filling secular positions, consult Moulet, *Évêques*, 499–509 and 318–330.

2. LEO OF CHALCEDON AND THE DOUKAS FAMILY

In the preceding section Leo of Chalcedon's first reactions to the imperial alienation of church objects have been presented. It has been told that Leo acted as the defender of the church in lieu of patriarch Garidas who did not oppose the measures of the Komnenoi. In the remaining part of the chapter, I survey further groups in Leo's network and I demonstrate the way in which Leo of Chalcedon became the key figure in the opposition against the new regime in the 1080s and early 1090s. This section examines the place which Leo of Chalcedon held in the court and entourage of Alexios I Komnenos. More closely, the relationship between Leo and the Doukas-branch of the imperial family is examined.

2.1. SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP

Certainly from the mid-twelfth-century standpoint of Nicholas Kataskepenos, a monk and hagiographer, the period of Alexios' reign seemed 'the golden age [...] when a prince took a holy man along in his baggage on campaign and treated monks with impeccable politeness'.²²¹ Indeed, the extended aristocratic family around Alexios I Komnenos venerated a number of holy men. Such people were Christodoulos of Patmos (c. 1025–1093), Cyril Phileotes (1015–1110), Meletios of Thebes (b. 1025–1064; d. 1095–1124), Esaias, the founder of the Kokkou monastery in Cyprus (late eleventh–early twelfth c.), Bartolomew of Patir in Southern Italy (late eleventh–early twelfth c.).²²² Additionally, Ignatios was a monk and the spiritual father of the young Alexios before his accession to the throne who also miraculously healed the young general.²²³ The monk Ioannikios accompanied Alexios on his campaign against Basilakes,²²⁴ and during the same operations Nikephoros Bryennios left the testimony of a certain ascetic Symeon as Alexios' messenger.²²⁵ In the *Alexiad*, patriarch Eustratios Garidas is documented as a soothsayer,²²⁶ finally, it was Leo of Chalcedon who was regarded with great respect for his outstanding virtue.

²²¹ At least for Nicholas Kataskepenos, the biographer of Cyril Phileotes and the central figure behind Manuel I's Kataskepe, or reform monastery-project, M. Mullett, 'Food for the Spirit and Light for the Road: Reading the Bible in the *Life of Cyril Phileotes* by Nicholas Kataskepenos', *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. Holmes, J. Waring (Leiden, Boston, 2002), 143. For Nicholas Kataskepenos, see V. Cyr. p. 12–18; Mullett, 'Food for the Spirit', 140–143. On the Kataskepe monastery, see *Nik. Chon.* 206–220; Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Opuscula*, ed. Tafel, 244; Angold, *Church and Society*, 287–291; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 119–120.

²²² Pamela Armstrong dealt in detail with these figures ('Alexios Komnenos, Holy Men and Monasteries', *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett, D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), 219–231), collecting also the pertaining sources and literature, see 222–227.

²²³ V. Cyr. 233–234 and *Al.* 1.7.5, 1.8.2; Mullett, *Theophylact*, 52. n. 216.

²²⁴ *Bryen.* 288.

²²⁵ *Bryen.* 295. In Anna's view (*Al.* 1.9.3), it was Ioannikios who performed this task. For the identification of Symeon, see *Bryen.* 294 fn. 6.

²²⁶ *Al.* 3.2.7.

It is difficult to gauge Alexios I's personal religiosity and his attitude towards holy men. Pamela Armstrong contended that Alexios as the patron of holy men and monasteries only supported the initiatives of his family. In other words, family members of Alexios called the ruler's attention to certain saintly persons whom he patronised as the result of this mediation.²²⁷ Anna Dalassena was the patroness of Christodoulos and Cyril Phileotes, additionally the latter was visited by Alexios and members of his entourage in 1091 and 1105.²²⁸ Meletios did not have direct contact with Anna Dalassene, or Alexios, but with a good number of aristocratic patrons.²²⁹ Esaias both had a local patronage in Cyprus by Manuel Boutoumites and in the capital.²³⁰ Ultimately, particularly Maria of Bulgaria and George Palaiologos held Leo of Chalcedon in honour.²³¹ What was the exact nature of their relationship, and, in the other way around, why Leo was considered a holy man?

The bond between Leo and George Palaiologos is attested in the *Alexiad*: 'Palaiologos particularly venerated [Leo] because of his virtues. ὁ Παλαιολόγος διαφερόντως ἐτίμη διὰ τὸ περιὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς'.²³² This statement only hints at Leo's reputation for piety which Michael Angold already pinpointed.²³³ It is Leo's correspondence with Maria of Bulgaria which sheds further light on their relationship.²³⁴ Leo's *Letter to Maria of Bulgaria* testifies that Maria asked her daughter Eirene Doukaina to negotiate Leo's case with Alexios I which Leo emphatically rejected in his reply.²³⁵ Furthermore, Leo also secured Maria of Bulgaria that he was praying for her and for members of the Doukas-family:

I pray for you continuously and do not be sad, because I am far away. You already have in your heart God whom you like and who from your childhood instructs you and makes you wise. For he himself who teaches knowledge to man. I pray for our holy Mistress, your daughter, for the

²²⁷ Armstrong, 'Holy Men and Monasteries', 219–231.

²²⁸ 1091: V. Cyr. 225–235. For the date, see ibidem 39; 1105: V. Cyr. 243–244, for the date, see p. 40. See also: Armstrong, 'Holy Men and Monasteries', 228.

²²⁹ Armstrong, 'Holy Men and Monasteries', 228, 231, n. 67.

²³⁰ Armstrong, 'Holy Men and Monasteries', 222.

²³¹ George Palaiologos was in contact with Cyril Phileotes, too, whom he visited in 1110, see V. Cyr. 273.

²³² *Al.* 7.4.1.

²³³ Angold, *Church and Society*, 47.

²³⁴ On the letter, see Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 127–129. I do not understand Angold's words (Angold, *Church and Society*, 47): 'She [i.e. Maria of Bulgaria] had reason to be suspicious of how honourable his [i.e. Leo's] intentions towards her daughter were'. We only know that Eirene Doukaina negotiated for Leo's return from his banishment and Leo was praying for her (*Ep. Mar.* 404a l. 15–16).

²³⁵ *Ep. Mar.* 404a l. 23–25: Thus, I beseech you and even embrace your holy feet, not to support our holy mistress, your daughter, to make a mention of me to the emperor. For how those, who did not have consideration for God, consider a man? Παρακαλῶ οὖν Σε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων σου ποδῶν ἐφάπτομαι, δυσωπῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμῶν Δέσποιναν καὶ θυγατέρα σου, ἵνα μηκέτι μνείαν τινὰ ποιῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. Πῶς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φείσονται οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ φεισόμενοι;

salvation of her soul, likewise for your other holy children and for their offsprings. And similarly, for your brother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws [...].

σοῦ δὲ διηνεκῶς ὑπερεύχομαι· καὶ σὺ μὴ λυποῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἡμῶν· ἤδη γὰρ ἔχεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, τὸν ἐκ παιδὸς σοφίσαντά σε καὶ συνετίσαντά σε Θεόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ διδάσκων ἄνθρωπον γνῶσιν. τῇ δὲ ἀγίᾳ ἡμῶν Δεσποίνῃ καὶ θυγατρὶ σου ἐπεύχομαι σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς· ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγίοις σου παισὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν· καὶ τοῖς γαμβροῖς σου καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις ὁμοίως.²³⁶

The prayer, offered for the salvation of one's soul by a saintly person, is an intercessory prayer.²³⁷ Leo was not the only holy man who prayed for the members of the imperial family. In 1091, upon his visit of the ascetic Cyril Phileothes at Derkos, Alexios I referred to the prayers which Cyril said for his sake.²³⁸ The *Life of Cyril Phileothes*, composed in the twelfth century by Nicholas Kataskepenos, presented an idealized dialogue between Alexios I and Cyril.²³⁹ The emperor is portrayed as confessing his carelessness, his dedication to passions, and his need for divine help in military operations. In the *Life*, as his reply, the ascetic clears the emperor's conscience and shows him a clear-cut programme, centering around the notion of philanthropy. It is a question whether any similar discourse took place between Leo and Maria of Bulgaria, or George Palaiologos. In other words, Leo only prayed for the Doukai, or the members of the family also visited him to open their conscience and ask spiritual advice.

The letter not only referred to Leo's prayer, but Maria's religious maturity, too. The passage tells that this was based on her relationship with God and not on Leo's presence in the capital. Leo's words can be considered as part of the prelate's flattering rhetoric to win Maria of Bulgaria's benevolence. However, reading the passage in the light of spiritual advising techniques suggests that Leo was Maria's spiritual father. The methods of spiritual fatherhood and guidance have its roots in the disciple-*abba* relationship of the fourth-century Egyptian desert.²⁴⁰ Certain differences occur between spiritual directors, but the main phases in the relationship of a leader and the directed person are quite general: election of the father, the phase of spiritual guidance, and formation of the disciple.²⁴¹ The relationship's end depends on the disciple's needs, development, or on external circumstances. The personal relationship of the leader and directed is in fact a

²³⁶ *Ep. Mar.* 404a l. 10–16.

²³⁷ On the intercessory prayer, see f. i. Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 66–73.

²³⁸ *V. Cyr.* 226: My [i.e. Alexios I's] carelessness does not allow me to act according to your holy prayers. ἡ ῥαθυμία μου οὐκ ἔῤ̣ με ἐνεργῆσαι κατὰ τὰς ἀγίας ὑμῶν εὐχάς.

²³⁹ *V. Cyr.* 226–231.

²⁴⁰ G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers and Monastic Community* (Oxford, 1993), 26–87.

²⁴¹ I. Hadot, 'The Spiritual Guide', A. H. Armstrong (ed.), *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (London, 1986), 436–59. V. Laurent, 'La direction spirituelle à Byzance', *REB* 14 (1956), 48–86; T. Špidlík, 'La direzione spirituale nell' Oriente cristiano', *Vita consecrata* 16 (1980), 502–514, 573–582.

triangle. The third entity is God, who is the ultimate aim of the guidance. The ‘spiritual father has not fulfilled his obligations until he has brought his children to a stage at which they experience an intimate relationship with God’.²⁴² According to the content of the letter, Maria of Bulgaria reached such a spiritual stage that she was able to stand on her own. Pressed by the circumstances of Leo’s banishment, she could not meet her spiritual father regularly which might have happened, according to the accepted practice, earlier. Therefore, on the basis of Leo’s letter, I assume that members of the Doukas family reckoned the prelate as a spiritual protector and intercessor. Moreover, in the case of Maria of Bulgaria, Leo can be considered as her spiritual father.

2.2. POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN LEO AND THE DOUKAI?

Victoria Gerhold claimed that members of the Doukas family were dissatisfied with Alexios’ regime.²⁴³ As I have presented above, the researcher was thinking about Leo as the port-parole of the ‘mouvement chalcédonien’. In her view, the Doukai formed an alliance with churchmen and discontented members of the senatorial elite to oppose the Komnenos branch of the imperial family.²⁴⁴ In Gerhold’s view, after their fall from power, some members of the discontented senatorial elite supported the Doukas family as the branch of the united reigning imperial family, which was competing for power against the Komnenoi.²⁴⁵ The weakest point in Gerhold’s hypothesis is that the plotting activity of the Doukas-branch against the Komnenoi cannot be substantiated. Despite the difficulties concerning the coronation of Eirene Doukaina as empress, I treated previously, the Doukai and the Komnenoi agreed in how to distribute power. Anna Dalassene was obviously the scapegoat in the antagonism between the Doukai and the Komnenoi, in particular due to her hatred towards the *kaisar*, John Doukas.²⁴⁶ Nonetheless, the main line of the Doukai were content with their positions in the government and army.²⁴⁷ Konstantinos Doukas who participated in Nikephoros Diogenes’ 1094 plot, was the son of the ex-basilissa Maria and came from the branch of the family which fell from power with the accession of the Komnenoi.²⁴⁸ Konstantinos Exazenos Doukas is the only member of the family who was attestedly involved in a scheme, namely

²⁴² H. Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden, 1990), 178.

²⁴³ Gerhold, ‘Le “mouvement”’, 87–104.

²⁴⁴ Gerhold, ‘Le “mouvement”’, 99–100.

²⁴⁵ Gerhold, ‘Le “mouvement”’, 99.

²⁴⁶ Brien, 221.

²⁴⁷ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 203; the more detailed treatment of discontented members in the imperial family is Frankopan, ‘Kinship’.

²⁴⁸ Cheynet, *Pouvoir* § 128; Frankopan, ‘Kinship’, 17.

in the Anemas-plot (1095–1101).²⁴⁹ As his name, though, demonstrates, Konstantinos did not belong to the closest, first circle of relatives around Alexios I.²⁵⁰

Therefore, Leo prayed for the Doukai, and, presumably, Maria of Bulgaria took spiritual advice from him, but the prelate was not the protagonist of the alliance between the Doukai and certain discontented ecclesiastics in a way as Gerhold assumed. Nevertheless, Leo of Chalcedon had ecclesiastical supporters, indeed, and he enjoyed the favour of an enigmatic group, too, who were labelled as ‘bad people’ in the sources. They latter is the subject of the next section.

²⁴⁹ Cheynet, *Pouvoir* § 130.

²⁵⁰ As Frankopan asserted, it was the core of the Doukas-family who became the target of envy and scheming, see Frankopan, ‘Kinship’, 34. Frankopan recently questioned his own idea in his ‘Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family’, 182 and 186, nevertheless, due to the silence of the sources, it is difficult to prove that the Doukas branch stemming from the *kaisar* John schemed against Alexios I.

3. LEO OF CHALCEDON AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATORIAL ELITE

There is a group of people who were in contact with Leo of Chalcedon and whom sources of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate denoted as ‘bad people’, or ‘malicious people’. Leo denied his connection with them, but Alexios Komnenos in his *semeioma* and later Anna Komnene called attention to the fact that this group had exercised significant influence on Leo’s behaviour. What is more, both sources had emphasised that this group had encouraged the metropolitan to a conduct which had exceeded the limits of an accepted, or legitimate *parrhesia*.

3.1. SOURCES OF AN ESCALATING CONTROVERSY

3.1.1. THE *SEMEIOMA* OF JANUARY 1086

The overview of the Komnenian iconoclasm presents a gradually worsening relationship between Leo and those churchmen who did not belong to his faction, and also between Leo and Alexios I. At the same time, the intensity of Leo’s opposition changed in the course of the debate. At certain occasions, Leo calmed down, while at other moments he made more violent attacks on his opponents. Alexios’ *semeioma* preserved a more detailed account of Leo’s gradual change than the *Alexiad*. The *semeioma*’s narrative starts with Leo’s critique against the confiscation and transformation of sacred objects, so, in all likelihood, in 1082.²⁵¹ At the beginning of the process, the *semeioma* presented Leo as modest in his claims. It seems that the prelate did not want to rouse a public scandal against the reigning patriarch and did not charge Eustratios in public (δημοσίᾳ λέγειν καὶ θεατρίζεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος).²⁵² Leo was, nonetheless, curious what exactly had happened with the expropriated objects, particularly if there had been any items which Patriarch Eustratios had retained for himself. Leo’s charges reached Garidas, thus the patriarch initiated a novel investigation himself which cleared him in early 1084. At this time Leo’s accusations did not quench in spite of the imperial investigation and became, unexpectedly, more violent: Garidas was still accused of Messalianism and after professing a creed in public, he resigned his see.²⁵³ The new patriarch, Nicholas III was elected in August 1084.²⁵⁴ In the *semeioma*, Alexios claimed that he had expected that the church would have been appeased eventually, therefore, he marched against the Normans.²⁵⁵ Leo of Chalcedon, however, simultaneously with Alexios’ clashes with Robert Guiscard, asserted that the case of Eustratios Garidas had not yet been resolved: the prelate aimed at having Garidas’ name erased from the list of patriarchs in the diptychs of the liturgical commemoration.

²⁵¹ *Alex. Sem.* 115.

²⁵² *Alex. Sem.* 115.

²⁵³ *Alex. Sem.* 116.

²⁵⁴ *Dar. Doc.* § 937.

²⁵⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 117. For the Norman campaign of 1084–1085, see Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns*, 177–184.

After this point, so in late 1084, Leo again and again devised new arguments against patriarch Garidas.²⁵⁶ After Alexios' return from the Norman campaign in October 1085, Leo made it clear that he would not take communion with the rest of the clergy, if Garidas were commemorated in the liturgy.²⁵⁷ The emperor required evidence against Garidas from Leo, notwithstanding, he was not able to provide anything to bolster his charges, only pretended to have those (τὴν δὲ τοῦ συνειδότος εἰσήγε πληροφορίαν, καὶ τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀκριβῆ τῶν λεγομένων κατάληψιν).²⁵⁸ With this the metropolitan's argumentation came into doubt and this was the point when the *basileus* became suspicious whether some people had exercised influence on the prelate:

After these having been said, my imperial majesty was deeply shaken in my heart: could it be that such a person whose words create a solemn air, who is supposed to seek integrity, and for a long time had an authoritative opinion regarding customs and laws of the church, gives in and pleases people and states that he has consideration for the opinion of people?

ὦν λαληθέντων, ἐπλήγη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔνδον ἡ βασιλεία μου, εἴ γε τηλικούτος ἄνθρωπος, λόγῳ μὲν σεμνυνόμενος, βίου δὲ σεμνότητος ἀντιποιεῖσθαι ὑποπτευόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἔθων καὶ νομίμων διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου τελείως ἐσχηκὼς τὴν διάγνωσιν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων νεύει ἀρεσκειάν, καὶ φεῖδεσθαι λέγει τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλωσσῶν.²⁵⁹

The emperor ordered an official ecclesiastical investigation against Leo.²⁶⁰ The inquiry consisted of subsequent assemblies in November 1085,²⁶¹ December 1085,²⁶² and in January 1086.²⁶³ As I have already treated it in the Introduction, the examination resulted in that Leo had been censured by the synod in January 1086. In the course of these months, interestingly enough, Leo once withdrew his accusations. In November 1085, Leo of Chalcedon appeared in front of the *synodos endemousa*, the episcopal synod of the capital which was headed by patriarch Nicholas III. Leo explained that he could not bear even to see Garidas' name among those of the previous patriarchs. In the course of the hearing, Leo charged Garidas with impiety (ἁσέβεια) for the first time. In December 1085, another assembly, consisting of Alexios I and metropolitans, required

²⁵⁶ First, Leo did not accept any of the results of the previous inquiry: he still accused Garidas with being responsible for the alienation of church property and with retaining part of the objects for himself (see *Alex. Sem.* 118. l. 7–11). Then, in the autumn of 1085, the prelate made a new claim that Garidas had alienated objects from the church of St Aberkios (*Alex. Sem.* 118. l. 15).

²⁵⁷ *Alex. Sem.* 118.

²⁵⁸ *Alex. Sem.* 118.

²⁵⁹ *Alex. Sem.* 118.

²⁶⁰ I will revisit these meetings from other viewpoints in Chapter Two, p. 77–81.

²⁶¹ *Alex. Sem.* 120, Glavinas, *Eris*, 104.

²⁶² *Alex. Sem.* 120. Glavinas, *Eris*, 104–105.

²⁶³ The first meeting: *Alex. Sem.* 122; the second assembly: *Dar. Reg.* §940.

proofs and a canonistic demonstration from Leo. The metropolitan asked some days for consideration, then he returned appeased.²⁶⁴ Leo took communion with the clergy, accepted patriarch Garidas' imperial acquittance, and did not charge him with Messalianism any more. However, in *January 1086* Leo resumed his previous hostile attitude and worded his previous accusations again. In addition to this, Leo expressed a novel charge, namely that not only Garidas was impious, but any sort of alienation related to church property was impiety.²⁶⁵

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The *semeioma* of 1086 presents that Leo of Chalcedon became more and more reckless in accusing patriarch Eustratios Garidas, afterwards, he declared his separation from the clergy which, in his view, supported Alexios' alienation. The metropolitan's outbursts became harsher from the beginning of 1084 and did not calm down afterwards. It was only in December 1085 when Leo seemed to withdraw his claims which he expressed again in January 1086. The triggers behind Leo's gradually fiercer critiques need explanation. Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* complements the details of the text of Alexios' *semeioma*.

3.1.2. THE ACCOUNT OF THE *ALEXIAD*

The superficial reading of Anna's accounts may lead to the conclusion that Leo was too enthusiastic and obstinate to give in which could form the image of a simple-minded prelate. Anna, undoubtedly, played up those elements in the narrative which present Alexios as a more rationalistic defender of orthodoxy compared to Leo, his adversary. Anna Komnene applied moralising elements when described Leo's case. This was in accord with a historical method which considered the actions of political actors as the result of their *ethos*.²⁶⁶ Anna called attention to Leo's rough and hard manners,²⁶⁷ moreover, she emphasised his insolence and arrogance.²⁶⁸ Leo's almost inexplicable stubbornness in accusing Eustratios Garidas after subsequent investigations and clearings strikes the modern reader, too. At the same time, however, Anna Komnene herself counterbalanced this view: Leo was influenced by 'malicious people' which brought about the prelate's obstinance:

²⁶⁴ *Alex. Sem.* 120, Glavinas, *Eris*, 106–108.

²⁶⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 123, Glavinas, *Eris*, 108–115. Glavinas contended that Leo delivered his *Apologos* then which I see differently, see Chapter Two, p. 77–80.

²⁶⁶ For the importance of the *ethos* in eleventh-century Byzantine historiography, see f. i. in Michael Psellos' *Chronographia*, see A. Kaldellis, *The Argument in Psellos' Chronographia* (Leiden, 1999), 23–28.

²⁶⁷ *Al.* 5.2.

²⁶⁸ *Al.* 5.2; *Al.* 7.4.

Leo obeyed to malicious men who were participating that time in the government and more and more encouraged [by them], the prelate made insults and blasphemed awkwardly against the rulers.

ὥς δ' ἐπὶ πλεον πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐθρασύνετο χαιρεκάκοις ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος, ὅποιοι πολλοὶ τότε ὑπῆρχον τοῦ πολιτεύματος, εἰς τοῦτο παρανυττόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὕβρεις καὶ βλασφημίας ἀκαίρους ἐτράπετο.²⁶⁹

Anna's description in Book 5 suggests that this happened before Leo's deposition from office (καθαίρεσις). The princess contended that Leo had continued his defiance of Alexios' policies also after his deposition:

Leo was condemned; he lost his bishopric. Far from covering under the verdict, or maintaining silence, he proceeded to stir up more trouble in the church and assembled high-born people to conspire. Since he was relentless and could not be corrected at all, after a long time passed by, Leo was unanimously condemned to exile. He retired to Sozopolis in Pontus.

[ὁ Λέων] καθαιρέσει κατεδικάζετο. ὥς δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτήσων οὐδόλως ἡρέμει, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθις συνετάραττε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ ἀγεννῇ φατρίαν συνεπαγόμενος, ὥς ἄτεγκτος ἦν πάντῃ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτος, μετὰ πολλῶν ἐνιαυτῶν παρέλευσιν πάντες ὁμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεψηφίσαντο κἀντεῦθεν ὑπερορίαν καταδικάζεται καὶ δέχεται τοῦτον ἢ περὶ τὸν Πόντον Σωζόπολιν.

I call attention to the words: [Leo] assembled high-born people to conspire. οὐκ ἀγεννῇ φατρίαν συνεπαγόμενος'. The word φατρία occurs in the *Alexiad* only in the section under analysis. It is important to note that Kambylis and Reinsch were following the manuscript tradition in which not the version of this word φρατρία stands, but φατρία. While the first means a political assembly, or community (a tribe in Homer, later a subdivision of a φυλή in the classical Athenian democracy), the latter indicates a league, or association in a bad sense, that is a plot, or conspiracy.²⁷⁰ Thus, following Anna's narrative, Leo was deposed from his office. After that, he remained in Constantinople and led a plotting faction. This consisted of high-born people. The punctuation of the passage must be discussed at this point. The editors put the sentence 'since he was relentless and could not be corrected at all. ὥς ἄτεγκτος ἦν πάντῃ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτος' between commas, thus, it is the readers' task to decide whether it pertains to the previous *kolon*, or to the subsequent one. The first means that Leo assembled around him high-born people, because he was hard-hearted, so members of the faction admired him as a charismatic leader. Many years later, everybody exiled

²⁶⁹ *Al.* 5.2.5.

²⁷⁰ *LSJ* 1953 s. v. 'φράτρα' 3.

the prelate unanimously. Despite the fact that Leo was indeed admired by George Palaiologos, by Alexios Komnenos himself, and also by ecclesiastics, in my view, it makes more sense to attach the sentence under discussion to the following *kolon*. Thus, as my interpretation goes, Leo assembled a faction to conspire against the emperor. He was hard-hearted in doing so, and when he did not give up the initiative, he was exiled. This implies that Leo's plot did not take place, but it can be described rather as planning and scheming. Ultimately, though, it reached a point when it has become too dangerous for the emperor, thus the prelate was banished. This idea can be bolstered by the fact that there is no trace of any conspiracy with which Leo was associated.²⁷¹

3.1.3. LEO'S LETTER TO MARIA OF BULGARIA

The third source which referred to the 'bad people' under discussion is Leo's *Letter to Maria of Bulgaria*, which the prelate sent from the exile. The letter supports Anna's account and the reading I have just exposed. Leo wrote to his confidant, the mother-in-law of the *basileus*:

[The emperor] also wrote to me that he had had confidence in me, but the scandal arose from malicious people — and this made me laugh.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἔγραψέ μοι [ὁ βασιλεύς] ὡς πίστιν εἶχεν εἰς ἐμὲ πολλήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονε, καὶ γελάσαι μοι ἐπῆλθεν.²⁷²

3.2. THE INSTIGATION OF THE SENATORIAL ELITE?

In the wake of reviewing the sources about the malicious people, the task remains to identify them. As it is clear from the previous section, it is difficult to substantiate that the malicious people were identical with some members of the Doukas family. On the basis of Anna's statement that they were involved in administrative affairs of the polity, it is plausible to examine members of the civilian elite.

3.2.1. LEO'S RENEWED OPPOSITION IN JANUARY 1086

First, I survey the composition of the committees which investigated Leo's case at the turn of the years 1085 and 1086. In November 1085, Leo appeared in attendance upon the *synodos*

²⁷¹ The enigmatic plot of high-ranking people which Paul Gautier dated to 1087 (see: Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 121, esp. fn. 49.; *Theophylacti opera*, ed. Gautier, 229–231) involved a person who claimed to be of imperial origin. This, as I have discussed it in the previous section, applies only to the Doukai in Leo's case. The Doukai, however, seemed to be satisfied with their position at court.

²⁷² *Ep. Mar.* 404a l. 26–28.

endemousa and the patriarch Nicholas III.²⁷³ Afterwards, a committee, consisting of metropolitans and Alexios I, asked for a canonistic demonstration about patriarch Garidas' impiety.²⁷⁴ Leo of Chalcedon returned appeased some days later and took communion with the clergy.²⁷⁵ However, in January 1086, the prelate returned to his previous hostile attitude. That assembly consisted not only of the patriarch Nicholas and members of the *synodos endemousa*, but also of members of the senate (παρεστώτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς).²⁷⁶ Is it possible that people from the senatorial elite gave support to Leo who dared to emphasise his separation from the ecclesiastical community again? This assumption is only tenable, if it can be shown that further connections existed between the Komnenian Iconoclasm and members of the senatorial elite. In the following paragraphs the transformation is examined to which the senatorial elite was subject under the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate. Particular attention is paid to the sequence of changes.

3.2.2. THE SENATORIAL ELITE AND ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS

The senate was the social elite of the Byzantine empire, following the paradigm of the *senatus* in the Roman tradition.²⁷⁷ In most cases, the pertinent denominations (*synkletos*, *boule*, or *gerousia*) cover the entire assembly of dignitaries attending on the emperor.²⁷⁸ The eleventh century witnessed the rise of an institutional, Constantinopolitan elite, the 'civilian aristocracy'. They were proud of their education, the ranks they achieved through it which brought them access to the emperor and court, thus, also to the resources of the empire. The civilian elite was complemented with a military elite which was a land-owning aristocracy of birth. Alexios I's entry to power solved the difficulty of Basil II (997–1025) who had built up strong imperial power against and above the tier of land-owning military magnate families of the provinces. With the accession of the Komnenoi, one of the magnate families became the ruling group had been connected to a number of families with marriage ties. The marriage policy of the Komnenoi, after their ascension

²⁷³ *Alex. Sem.* 120.

²⁷⁴ *Alex. Sem.* 120.

²⁷⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 121.

²⁷⁶ *Alex. Sem.* 122.

²⁷⁷ A detailed treatment of the senate in Byzantium is very much needed. Some samples from the literature: A. Christophilopoulou, *Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος* (Athens, 1949); *ODB* 3 1869 s. v. 'senator'; P. Heather, 'Senators and Senates', *The Cambridge Ancient History XIII*, ed. A. Cameron, P. Garnsey (Cambridge, 1998), 184–210; J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 160–172; J. Haldon, 'Social Élites, Wealth and Power', *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Malden, Mass., 2009), 182–193; For the eleventh century, see P. Lemerle, *Cinque études sur le XI siècle byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 287–93; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 249–261, 337–345, 121–129.

²⁷⁸ Lemerle, *Cinque études*, 287: 'Être *synkletikos*, c'est appartenir à la classe supérieure de la société, en raison et en fonction de la place occupée dans la hiérarchie des dignités'. Zonaras excluded military officials as members of the senate: *Zon.* 3:762–763, Magdalino, 'Kaiserkritik', 336 n. 57; Magdalino, 'Court and Society and Aristocracy', 217.

to power, extended further the size of the family.²⁷⁹ Simultaneously, the civilian elite of the previous decades fell from power.²⁸⁰ The novelty of the Komnenian system was that the emperor not only filled the more important positions with his own men (which was common also earlier), but that Alexios created a separate group which wielded power.²⁸¹ The senatorial, or civilian elite as such became of secondary importance after the ‘Komnenian lords’.

3.2.2.1. FALLING ESTEEM

First, the Komnenian takeover meant the loss of renown and esteem for the bureaucratic, or senatorial, elite.²⁸² At the time of the Komnenian revolt, senators were stripped of their clothes and left humiliated on the streets of Constantinople.²⁸³ Zonaras also claimed that Alexios I had striven to despise the senators (ἔσπευσε ταπεινῶσαι τούτους).²⁸⁴ About seven years after the Komnenian takeover Theophylaktos, *pepaideumenos* and court rhetorician, addressed Constantine Doukas, at that time co-ruler and the official heir of the throne.²⁸⁵ Theophylaktos was educated in the 1070s, his career was paradigmatic for the civilian elite.²⁸⁶ He entered service at court, afterwards became the archbishop of Ohrid. Theophylaktos addressed the child Constantine in a parainetic oration in which he singled out the difference between lawful rulership (*basileia*) and tyranny:

²⁷⁹ See Magdalino, *Manuel*, 184–191 for the advantages and disadvantages of the Komnenian system.

²⁸⁰ Haldon, ‘Social Élite’, 192; as a concomitant phenomenon, eunuchs were driven to the background (Kazhdan, A., Epstein, A. W., *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1985), 68–70; Haldon, ‘Social Élite’, 186 with further references, cf. N. Gaul, ‘Eunuchs in the Late Byzantine Empire’, 201; likewise, the nouveau riches gaining profit from commerce were banned from the senate (Dö. *Reg.* § 1091; Lemerle, *Cinque études*, 291; 309–310). Members of families who held important military positions and high titles at court in the second half of the eleventh century, but did not belong to the favoured Komnenian elite, were lowered in their status, too. They became the so-called ‘second-tier aristocracy’ who could find their place in the administration. Unlike the senatorial elite, which was an institutional elite, members of the second-tier aristocracy came from relatively wealthy families of the provinces, or which were wealthy, but declined at some point. (Gaul, ‘Rising Elites and Institutionalization – Éthos/Mores – “Debts” and Drafts: Three Concluding Steps Towards Comparing Networks of Learning in Byzantium and the “Latin” West, c.1000–1200’, *Networks of Learning: Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200*, ed. S. Steckel, N. Gaul, M. Grünbart (Berlin, Münster, 2014), 240 fn. 29; P. Magdalino, ‘Aspects of Twelfth-Century Kaiserkritik’, *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 336–337; Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change*, 68–70; Kazhdan, *L’aristocrazia*, 146–148; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 180–201).

²⁸¹ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 193; Frankopan, ‘Kinship’. It is a matter of recent debate what role exactly Alexios’ kinsmen played within the highest echelon of the elite, see Frankopan, ‘Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family’.

²⁸² Magdalino, *Manuel*, 186–188; Haldon, ‘Social Élites’, 192.

²⁸³ *Zon.* 766, l. 17–19; *Al.* 3.1.1–3.3.5.

²⁸⁴ *Zon.* 766, l. 20.

²⁸⁵ On Constantine Doukas’ coronation and status, see Dö. *Reg.* § 1064; B. Leib, ‘Un basileus ignoré—Constantinos Doukas, v. 1074–1094’, *BS* 17 (1956), 356–359; M. Mullett, ‘The “Disgrace” of the Ex-Basilissa Maria’, *BS* 45 (1984), 205–206.

²⁸⁶ *Theophylacti opera*, ed. Gautier, 11–37.

The tyrant seizes power by violence, for he does not receive the reins of government from the citizens, but takes possession of them with blood and murder.

ὁ τύραννος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκβιάζεται· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ χαλινὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκδέχεται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρπάζει ταῦτα σφαγαῖς τε καὶ αἵμασι'.²⁸⁷

It can be assumed that it was not only the memory of Alexios' seizure of power which can be put against these lines. Alexios initiated his reign with measures which secured the leading position of his relatives. This was the reason for John Zonaras to describe Alexios as a self-governed master (*despotes*, a term which can be equaled with Theophylaktos' *tyrannos*) as head of his great household, the empire itself.²⁸⁸

3.2.2.2. LAND-BASED PAYMENT OF THE CIVILIAN OFFICIALS AND LAND CONFISCATIONS

One of the novelties was that the state officials, at least of the higher echelons, did not get their salaries in cash any more: the so-called *roga* system was abolished by Alexios I.²⁸⁹ The day-to-day working of the new system is hard to guess, Nikolas Oikonomides suggested that the *roga* 'was retained only for the remuneration of the emperor's low-ranking servants and soldiers'.²⁹⁰ It is difficult to define when the abolition of the system took place. Researchers date the end of the *roga*-system to the early years of Alexios I. The *eidikon* which was traditionally distributing senatorial *rogai*, was mentioned in 1088 for the last time.²⁹¹

There is an obvious tendency from the Byzantine state in the early Komnenian period to confiscate land and property which was partly redistributed as a privilege to private persons. The scanty evidence does not allow the reconstruction of the precise rhythm, target group, and geographical location of land confiscations.²⁹² There is evidence about the early years of Alexios'

²⁸⁷ Or. 4., ed. Gautier, *Theophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, Traités, Poésies* (Thessalonike, 1980), 195 l. 21–23; transl. P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Alexios I Komnenos: "Not in the Strict Sense of the Word an Emperor"', *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett, D. Smythe, (Belfast, 1996), 136. On the theory of *basileia* and *tyrannis* in the period, see Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 177–184.

²⁸⁸ Zon. 766–767; see also Magdalino's concise statement (Magdalino, *Manuel*, 181): 'For those who identified with his regime, the changes were a consummate piece of statecraft...for those who did not belong to the charmed circle of Comnenian relatives and favourites, Alexios was guilty of unconstitutional disturbance of the status quo'.

²⁸⁹ Zon. 732.15–733.2; N. Oikonomides, N., 'Title and Income at the Byzantine Court', *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 2004), 211–13; idem, 'The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy', *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 2002), 1039–1044; K. Smyrlis, 'The Fiscal Revolution of Alexios I Komnenos: Timing, Scope, and Motives', *TM* 21 (2017), 594; H. Ahrweiler, 'La concession des droits incorporels: Donations conditionnelles', *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 1961* (Belgrade, 1964), 2: 104–114.

²⁹⁰ Oikonomides, 'The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy', 1039.

²⁹¹ *MM* 6: 48; N. Oikonomides, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025–1118)', *TM* 6 (1976), 131.

²⁹² The most detailed examination which I came across is Smyrlis, 'Fiscal Revolution', esp. 594–606.

rule. A chrysobull of 1082 granted the Venetians Constantinopolitan properties, such as workshops, a bakery, and wharves. The chrysobull testified that the properties under discussion had been in the possession of ecclesiastical institutions, private owners, and partly belonged to the state. Furthermore, the Italian merchants received those after the previous owners had been dispossessed of their property.²⁹³ A great wave of confiscation can be connected to Alexios' reform known as *epibole* which started ab. 1088–1089.²⁹⁴ This targeted throughout the empire at both lay and ecclesiastical landowners. Lastly, it has to be added, that lands and property were alienated from those who betrayed the emperor as schemers.²⁹⁵ This applied also to conspiring members of the senatorial elite whose properties, at least in Zonaras' biased interpretation, were regularly subject to state confiscations.²⁹⁶

Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the early years of Alexios' reign witnessed the end of paying the *rogai* which, in Zonaras' view, brought about dissatisfaction of the senators. The procedure during which the paying system of the imperial administrative staff changed, cannot be reconstructed. In addition to this, the confiscations may indicate some rhythm which can be ascertained by some early examples and by the measures regarding the *epibole* in 1089/1090. This measure followed the last mention of the *eidikon* in 1088, the office which distributed the *rogai*.

3.2.2.3. STRUCTURE AND PERSONELL OF THE SEKRETA; SEQUENCES OF OFFICE-HOLDING

After 1081 changes occurred rapidly and rendered the reins of power into the hands of but a few people: this gave the feeling of insecurity for the senatorial elite.²⁹⁷ The chances of upward social mobility, the defining feature of the eleventh century, lessened.²⁹⁸ As Alexander Kazhdan hypothesised, during the reign of Alexios I, the extended Komnenian family, together with its allied families, constituted 60% of the noble elite, either civilian, or military. Even if Kazhdan's result seems excessive, this shows the success of the Komnenian marriage policy.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ N. Smyrlis, 'Private Property and State Finances. The Emperor's Right to Donate his Subjects' Land in the Comnenian Period', 117–119; see also P. Magdalino, P., *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 78–83; and idem, 'Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries' *DOP* 54 (2000), 209–226.

²⁹⁴ On the *epibole*, see Svoronos, 'L' épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes', *TM* 3 (1968), 375–95; N. Oikonomides, , *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance, IXe–XIe s.* (Athens, 1996), 56–61.

²⁹⁵ See Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 90–103.

²⁹⁶ F. i. Zon. 736. l. 11–15.

²⁹⁷ The most concise evaluation: Magdalino, 'Innovations in Government'.

²⁹⁸ P. Kazhdan, M. McCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court', *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 2004), 176–185, 189–195; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 180–192; Haldon, 'Social Elites', 192.

²⁹⁹ Kazhdan, *L' aristocrazia*, 146. Those families who were members of the military aristocracy, but were not those of the Komnenian extended family, can be counted as 25% of the elite in Kazhdan's view, see ibidem, 149.

Relatives of the *basileus* received key positions.³⁰⁰ The new *basileus* appointed Nikephoros Melissenos as *kaisar* in April 1081.³⁰¹ In August of the same year Gregorios Pakourianos became *megas domestikos* of the West.³⁰² Simultaneously, Alexios Komnenos invested his mother, Anna Dalassene with imperial power in the fields of justice, finance, and administration to act in lieu of her son Alexios when was away on campaign.³⁰³ An imperial decree referred to the judicial role of Isaac Komnenos.³⁰⁴ In addition to this, there are cases which confirm Isaac's position as an agent, or arbiter in religious and intellectual questions, such as John Italos' trial,³⁰⁵ or the ecclesiastical synod which allowed the alienation of sacred objects.³⁰⁶ Alexios Komnenos used the eleventh-century title *sebastos* to honour his relatives (*protosebastos*, *panhypersebastos*, *pansebastohypertatos*, and *sebastokrator*).³⁰⁷ The list of the Blachernai synod of 1094, which is the most complete presence list of the period, confirms that decisions were made by the novel Komnenian elite. Lay dignitaries to the assembly which put and end to the Komnenian Iconoclasm. They were present as members of the 'senate' (ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς).³⁰⁸ Out of the 43 officials present, there were 20 who cannot be connected apparently, by blood, dignity, or factional interest assumed on the basis of his career, with the Komnenian extended family.³⁰⁹

However, there was an obvious continuity in the administrative personnel of the Komnenoi with that of the previous regime.³¹⁰ The measures just discussed were concerned with the highest dignities around Alexios Komnenos and date to the first three years of his rule. It has been observed that families belonging to the civilian elite and corresponding with Michael Psellos, who was a hub in the higher echelons of power from the 1040s to the early 1070s, are also to be found in the sources of the late eleventh and early twelfth century.³¹¹ Nevertheless, a gradual change took place in the relationship of the civilian families and the military ones. While in the eleventh century, it was

³⁰⁰ Cf. Frankopan, 'Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family', 185 and 186–187 emphasising the continuity of the personell from the previous regime in the highest positions, too. Frankopan mentioned Philaretos Brachamios, Constantine Humbertopoulos, Leo and Nikephoros Diogenes. While Frankopan's idea is very attractive, his study builds on only a few examples.

³⁰¹ *Dö. Reg.* § 1063.

³⁰² *Dö. Reg.* § 1072.

³⁰³ *Dö. Reg.* § 1073.

³⁰⁴ Zepos, *Jus* 1:289.

³⁰⁵ *Dar. Reg.* § 923–27.

³⁰⁶ *Dar. Reg.* § 921.

³⁰⁷ Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 127; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 182–185.

³⁰⁸ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 217–218.

³⁰⁹ Gautier's prosopographical analysis: 'Blachernes', 241–261; Those 20 people are: Andronikos Skleros, Baradas Hikanatos, Michael Barys, Nicholas Mermentoulos, Euthymos, Michael Skleros, Constantine Iasites, Constantine Choirosphaktes, Theodore Smyrnaios, George Manges, Georgios Basilakes, Michael Autoreianos, Gregory Aristenos, Georgios Pyrrhos, Michael Antiochos, the *papias* Basil, John Skoutariotes, Theodore Pepagomenos, Leon *vestarches* and *grammatikos*, and Michael Opheomachos.

³¹⁰ Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, 146; see also Frankopan, 'Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family', 185–186.

³¹¹ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 374–375.

customary that ‘mixed’ marriages occurred between the two groups, from the 1140s onwards this did not happen.³¹² With respect to the governmental coexistence of the two elites the following has been summarised by John Haldon:

Under the Komnenoi, the imperial family and its immediate associates monopolised military and higher civil offices, while the older families who had been its formal rivals, dominated the bureaucratic machinery of the state, leaving local affairs and provincial administration to members of the local élites.³¹³

In what ways can this statement be supported, if we have a look at some of the offices of the early Komnenian administration? I chose posts of which the most complete lists survive; the selection represents all important fields of civilian administration, namely the chancery and judiciary, except the finance where the published sources do not allow such an investigation.³¹⁴ Moreover, among the offices chosen there are a novel and central one (*logothetes ton sekreton*), two which preserved its previous importance (*epi tou kanikleiou*, *epi ton deeseon*) and two which are of decreasing importance (*logothetes tou dromou*, and especially the eparch).

The structure of the bureaux (*sekreta*) by and large did not change significantly.³¹⁵ The early Komnenian administration was more tightly coordinated compared to the system of the preceding rulers.³¹⁶ The changes might not have meant a remarkable decrease in the number of personnel. The imperial court, though, changed: it became more the scene for the Komnenoi relatives, or Alexios’ people whom he intended to appoint.³¹⁷ The confidant position of the *parakoimomenos*, so important during the eleventh century, disappeared, the *protovestiaros* was recruited from among family members.³¹⁸

Alexios I created a new post, the *logothetes ton sekreton* to assist his mother, Anna Dalassene in administrative duties.³¹⁹ The first office-holder was Sergios Hexamilites, a *protoproedros* with respect to his office and member of a family which belonged to the civilian elite and whose

³¹² Kazhdan, *L’aristocrazia*, 149.

³¹³ Haldon, ‘Social Élites’, 192.

³¹⁴ See samples: R. Guiland, ‘Les logothètes’, *REB* 29 (1971), 99–100; Laurent, *Corpus* 2: § 353–432; For an overview, see Oikonomides, ‘L’ évolution’, 131; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 230–231.

³¹⁵ The most detailed overview of the development: Oikonomides, ‘L’ évolution’, 125–152; see also Magdalino, *Manuel*, 228–231.

³¹⁶ Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change*, 71; Kazhdan, *L’aristocrazia*, 123–124; Magdalino, ‘Court Society and Aristocracy’, 212–232.

³¹⁷ See the fine analysis by Frankopan, ‘Kinship’.

³¹⁸ Oikonomides, ‘L’ évolution’, 131; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 229.

³¹⁹ Magdalino, ‘Innovations in Government’, 153–155; Oikonomides, ‘L’ évolution’, 132–133; Gautier, ‘Blachernes’, 237–238.

offsprings were jurists in the imperial administration.³²⁰ However, in 1088 and 1089 the officeholder is anonymous, it is only known that he was bearer of the new titles, given to the Komnenian relatives (*megalepiphanestatos*, *protonobelissimos*).³²¹ It can be securely argued that after 1090 the post 'saw a dramatic rise in the social status of its incumbent' and was given to Komnenian relatives: the *sebastos* Michael (from ca. 1090), and Andronikos Doukas (after 1109, or 1112) are cases in point.³²² It can be contended that at the time of its creation, the *logothete* was a technical co-ordinator of the services,³²³ therefore an earlier eparch and *dikaiphylax*, as Hexamilites, met the requirements.³²⁴ But after the 1090s, as Paul Magdalino hypothesised, the *logothetes* became a supreme judge in fiscal affairs which could have been Alexios' innovation.³²⁵ Taking into account the number of confiscations, and the land-centred administration of the Komnenian system, the altered position not only required expertise, but also a greater degree of loyalty. If this holds, the bureaucratic elite lost an earlier position in 1089–1090 because of the pro-Komnenian development of the office.

The chancery was deprived of the *protasekretis* who was employed after 1106 as a judge; the heads of the bureau became the *epi tou kanikleiou* and the *epi ton deeseon*.³²⁶ In 1082 there was a certain John *protoproedros*, who held the office of the *epi tou kanikleiou*.³²⁷ Before 1085, he was replaced by Eustathios Kymineianos, a eunuch, who was promoted to govern naval forces as *megas droungarios*.³²⁸ In 1087, another anonymous *protoproedros* is attested.³²⁹ After him, it was Manuel Philokales who held the office in 1094, belonging to the extended Komnenian family.³³⁰ Thus, in the case of the post of the *epi tou kanikleiou*, one finds an office-holder related to the Komnenian extended family in 1094.

Attested bearers of the office of the *epi ton deeseon*³³¹ were Constantine Choroisphaktes in 1088,³³² John Solomon around 1092,³³³ Constantine Iasites before 1094,³³⁴ and John Taronites from

³²⁰ Dölger, *Schatz.*, p. 160, l.15.

³²¹ Oikonomides, 'L' évolution', 126–127; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 181–184

³²² Magdalino, 'Innovations in Government', 155.

³²³ Oikonomides, 'L' évolution', 132–133.

³²⁴ C. Morrisson, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XI siècle: Essai d'interprétation', *TM* 6 (1976), 467 and Laurent, *Corpus* 2: §1031.

³²⁵ Identical with the later post of *προκαθήμενος/ καθολικός τῶν δημοσιακῶν πραγμάτων* in the mid-twelfth century, see Magdalino, 'Innovations in Government', 155.

³²⁶ Oikonomides, 'L' évolution', 131.

³²⁷ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 468.

³²⁸ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241.

³²⁹ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 468.

³³⁰ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241.

³³¹ R. Guillard, 'Maître des Requêtes', *Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin* (London, 1976), 97–118; R. Guillard, *Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin* (London, 1976), 97–118. esp. 101–103.

³³² Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467.

³³³ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467.

³³⁴ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467.

1094.³³⁵ The first three were offsprings of civilian families,³³⁶ two of them were pupils of John Italos the philosopher.³³⁷ They also hold other offices and represent the successful senators under Alexios I. Nevertheless, John Solomon was involved in the Anemas plot (dated between 1095–1101) which indicated his occasional disloyalty.³³⁸ Presumably, John Taronites was not in connection with the Taronitai, a family which was linked to the Komnenoi. Instead, he seems to be an expert of law who served Alexios from the beginning of his reign as a secretary and reached higher offices as that of the *epi ton deeseon* around 1094 and as the eparchy of Constantinople in 1107.³³⁹ Thus, the office of the *epi ton deeseon* was held by people related to the bureaucratic elite.

In the eleventh century, the importance of the *logothetes tou dromou* was not as central as in the tenth century.³⁴⁰ The duties related to this office were ceremonial tasks, the collection of political information (later in the twelfth century issuing imperial victory bulletins), and the general supervision of foreign affairs.³⁴¹ After 1107/1108, the *dromos* ceased to exist as a separate bureau, and by the end of Alexios' reign its *logothetes* became an imperial secretary, deprived off its earlier fiscal duties.³⁴² During the period under consideration there is evidence only about two office-holders: John, *protoproedros* in 1086 and Andronikos Skleros, *protonobelissimos* in 1094.³⁴³ The first could have been identical with the *protoproedros* John, attested in 1082 as *epi tou kanikleiou* (see above) and *asekretis*, so, probably, member of the civilian elite. Andronikos Skleros came from a civilian family,³⁴⁴ and was involved later in the Anemas-plot (1095–1101).³⁴⁵

In the field of justice there were a number of officers to be considered,³⁴⁶ here the eparch is examined. During the eleventh century, the eparch's legal capacity decreased, he presided over civil litigation among merchants, businessmen, and cases which arose on the markets. Under the reign of Alexios I the position was first filled by Rhadenos whom the Komnenoi inherited from Botaneiates.³⁴⁷ After that, but before 1082, the civilian Sergios Hexamilites followed Rhadenos.

³³⁵ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 246.

³³⁶ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 374–375.

³³⁷ *Al.* 5.9.2: Anna mentioned John Solomon and 'some Iasitai'.

³³⁸ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 130; for Solomon see: PBW (2016) Ioannes 15019 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Ioannes/15019/>] accessed 21 May 2018.

³³⁹ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 246.

³⁴⁰ D. A. Miller, 'The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period', *Byz* 36 (1966/67), 438–470; R. Guiland, 'Les logothètes', *REB* 29 (1971), 31–70.

³⁴¹ Without going beyond the borders of the empire after 781.

³⁴² Oikonomides, 'L' évolution', 131; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 230.

³⁴³ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 243.

³⁴⁴ See W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna, 1976), 86–102.

³⁴⁵ See Anna's list: *Al.* 12.5.5.

³⁴⁶ The eparch, the *droungarios tou belou*, the *epi ton kriseon*, and the *quaestor*. The higher number of judges is probably connected to the increasing number of litigations. For the offices, see: Oikonomides, 'L' évolution', 133–135; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 230, 233.

³⁴⁷ *Al.* 3.1.1, see Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241. fn. 1.

Afterwards, Hexamilites occupied the novel office of the *logothetes ton sekreton*.³⁴⁸ In 1084, the *protospatharios* Peter bore the office.³⁴⁹ Around 1087, Michael Machetarios appears eparch (his identification is dubious),³⁵⁰ who was followed by John Skylitzes in 1090.³⁵¹ Skylitzes, alias John Thrakesios, the historian held also the judicial posts of the *droungarios tes viglas*³⁵² and, despite the fact that he had sprung from a family of lowly origin,³⁵³ based on his *Synopsis historion*, he was favouring members of the military aristocracy, especially Katakalon Kekaumenos.³⁵⁴ During the time of the Blachernai synod Michael Philokales became eparch who had multiple connections with the Komnenoi. After the synod, the civilian Bardas Xeros appeared in the *Alexiad* as the eparch involved in the Anemas-conspiracy (1095–1101).³⁵⁵ Despite the deficiencies in the list, it is clear that around 1090 and in 1094 such people occupied the post of the eparch who were well connected with the Komnenoi, or positively disposed towards the military aristocracy.³⁵⁶

Therefore, this selective look at the higher offices of the early Komnenian administration testifies that there were positions which were filled rather by members of the senatorial elite, such as the *epi ton deeseon*, or the *logothetes tou dromou*. This is in accord with the idea that, in addition to the familial ties, Alexios I appointed officers whom he wished, or considered to be loyal, despite the origin of their families and background.³⁵⁷ Other offices, on the other hand, were filled alternately by members of the civilian elite and by people more closely related to the Komnenian extended family. Despite the fragmentary nature of these lists, there is a pattern which arise: the years 1090 and 1094 show some changes with respect to the office-holders. The office of the *logothetes ton sekreton* was undoubtedly given to Komnenian relatives after 1090. In the case of the eparch it can only be contended that the bearer of the position in 1090 favoured some members of the military aristocracy, while the officer in 1094 was connected with the ruling family. In 1094, the bearer of the office of the *epi tou kanikleiou* belonged to the Komnenian extended family.

³⁴⁸ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467.

³⁴⁹ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241.

³⁵⁰ Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467, but Gautier did not indicate him in his list of eparchs (Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241) since his identification is dubious, but cannot be, in my view, entirely ruled out, see Laurent, *Corpus 2*: §1026.

³⁵¹ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 241 fn. 3. I cannot see the basis of the office-holding of Basil Tziriton before 1089, as Morrisson claimed (Morrisson, 'Dévaluation', 467, see Laurent, *Corpus 2*: §1032).

³⁵² W. Seibt, 'Joannes Skylitzes. Zur Person der Chronisten', *JÖB* 25 (1976), 81–85.

³⁵³ J. C. Cheynet, 'John Skylitzes, the Author and his Family', *John Skylitzes, A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, transl. by J. Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), ix–xi.

³⁵⁴ See Kazhdan's opinion in *ODB* 3 1914, s. v. 'Skylitzes, John'.

³⁵⁵ *Al.* 12.5.5; Gautier, 'Blachernes', 242.

³⁵⁶ I do not claim that the Komnenoi appointed officers who were not loyal to them. I only emphasise that in the case of John Skylitzes and Michael Philokales, there are some arguments on behalf of their loyalty, based on Skylitzes' views as a historian and on Philokales' relationship with the ruling family.

³⁵⁷ See Frankopan, 'Kinship', 10–12 and *passim*.

3.2.2.4. CONSPIRACIES AND REVOLTS

The relationship of the civilian elite with the new Komnenian rulers can be qualified not only on the basis of changes in office-holding and payment. As Jean-Claude Cheynet presented, Alexios I faced twenty plots in the course of his reign.³⁵⁸ The first great outbreak the part of the senators happened in November 1083.³⁵⁹ The next occasion when senators were involved in scheming against Alexios I is the plot organised by Nikephoros Diogenes, governor of Crete, in 1094.³⁶⁰ Finally, it is well-known that the conspiracy devised by the Anemas-brothers comprised members of the senate. The dating of this event is debated, according to Zonaras' version it happened in 1095, but based on Anna Komnene's narrative, researchers date this scheme to 1100–1101.³⁶¹

3.2.2.5. THE MILITARY CRISIS OF 1090–1092

The winter of 1090–1091 was one of the most difficult phases of Alexios' reign. From 1087, the antagonism with the Pecheneg nomads in the Northern Balkans persevered. The emperor suffered a serious defeat in 1087 at Dristra. After that the Pechenegs approached Constantinople more and more closely. Concurrently, the emir of Smyrna Tzachas and a Seljuk chieftain in Ephesos occupied the Western coastline of Asia Minor, and some of the Aegean Islands. Furthermore, Tzachas sought an alliance with the Pechenegs to encircle Constantinople. It was the battle at Lebounion in the Spring of 1091 which saved the capital from the Pechenegs, Tzachas slowly withdrew and was finally defeated in 1094. Despite the fact that there are no traces of senatorial conspiracies from 1090–1091, the revolt at Cyprus before Lebounion,³⁶² the conspiracy of Constantine Houmbertopoulos,³⁶³ and the insurrection of Gregory Gabras in Trebizond³⁶⁴ after the same battle demonstrated that Alexios' rule had been challenged.

³⁵⁸ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 94–103.

³⁵⁹ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 120. The main sources of the plot are the *Alexiad* (Al. 6.4.1) and Zonaras' *Epitome* (Zon. 736) which record that this originated from senior commanders in the army and leading figures in the senate (Al. 6. 4.1: παρά τε τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου λογάδων καὶ τῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ κορθαίων; Zon. 736: ἐκ τῶν ταγματικῶν ὄντας ἀρχόντων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς). See also Frankopan, 'Kinship', 15 and B. Scoulatos, 'Les premières réactions hostiles à Alexis I Comnène (1081–1083)', *Byz* 49 (1979), 385–394; in which the author called attention to the three main internal issues to be handled by the new *basileus*, namely to lead and hold together the Komnenian extended family, to cope with the senatorial elite of the previous regime, and to come to terms with the church.

³⁶⁰ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 128.

³⁶¹ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 130.

³⁶² Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 126.

³⁶³ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 124.

³⁶⁴ Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 123.

3.2.2.6. CONCLUSIONS: THE SENATORIAL ELITE UNDER ALEXIOS' EARLY REIGN

The following charts show the details which I examined regarding the status of the senatorial elite in the the period between 1081 and 1094 from a chronological point of view. I also indicated moments of Leo's renewed resistance in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate.

Events of Alexios' rule					Senatorial elite	Events of the Komnenian Iconoclasm
				Administration		
1081			Alexios' entry to Cn/ple	Alexios' relatives receive key positions	Humiliation in the streets of Cn/ple	
1082	Change	confiscations				
1083	of the	confiscations			Nov: plot involving senators	
1084	<i>roga</i> -system					early in 1084: Leo' renewed opposition
1085						
1086						Jan 1086: Leo resists again
1087			Pecheneg invasion, Aug defeat at Dristra			
1088			Tzachas' advancement			
1089		Introduction of the <i>epibole</i>				
1090		confiscations		Changes in the personell		Leo is banished to Sozopolis?
1091			Jan: Revolt in Cyprus Apr: battle at Lebounion May: plot of Constantine Houmbertopoulos plot of Gregory Gabras			
1092						
1093						
1094				Changes in the personell	before June: plot of Nikephoros Diogenes	Late in 1094: Blachernai synod

Thus, I recapitulate the main points I have presented so far. Alexios I occupied the throne

after members of the senatorial elite have been humiliated in the streets of Constantinople. In the first two years after his entry to power, his closest relatives received key positions. At the same time, not only land confiscations took place, but the *basileus* brought measures to replace the *roga*-system with land-based payment of the civilian officials. The latter process ended, presumably, in 1088. The changes entailed the scheme of senators in November 1083.

Early 1087, the Pechenegs crossed the Northern frontier and heavily defeated the Byzantine army at Dristra in August. From 1088 Tzachas got hold of the Eastern coast of Asia Minor. Concurrently, the *epibole* has been introduced and further confiscations took place. In 1090, the surviving lists indicate changes in the administrative personnel. In 1091, the alliance of Tzachas and the Pechenegs involved the risk of a two-front war. In January 1091, a revolt took place in Cyprus. In April, Alexios successfully proved superior over the Pechenegs near Lebounion. However, in a month's time, Alexios' rule was challenged by the conspiracy of Constantine Houmbertopoulos and by Gregory Gabras's insurrection in Trebizond.

In the first part of 1094 Nikephoros Diogenes' plot was revealed which was followed by the Blachernai synod late in the year. At the same time, changes in the administrative personnel can also be shown.

3.3. THE KOMNENIAN ICONOCLASM AND THE SENATORIAL OPPOSITION

The overview which has been presented about the senatorial elite enriches our knowledge about the Komnenian Iconoclasm. As I discussed, Leo of Chalcedon accused the patriarch Eustratios Garidas of stealing sacred objects for himself in the second part of 1083. It was a novelty among Leo's views, compared to his *Letter to Alexios I*. The *terminus ante quem* for this accusation is the public clearing of the patriarch which took place early 1084. Thus, concurrently with the plot of senators and military leaders which had been revealed in November 1083, Leo devised a novel argument. The prelate's strange opposition started only around the beginning of 1084, so some months after the senatorial scheme has been made public. If the 'malicious people' are identical with some opposing senators who, according to Anna Komnene's testimony, encouraged Leo to engage in 'foolish calumnies' against Alexios I, it can be claimed that Leo's fierce, renewed, and disorganised charges were fuelled by discontented members of the civilian elite whose conspiracy had been recently revealed.

Therefore, the most plausible way to reconstruct the relationship between members of the civilian elite and Leo is as follows. By the end of the third year of Alexios I's rule, a number of changes in the government and the new regime's negative attitude toward the senatorial elite entailed a plot of some discontented senators and military leaders in November 1083. In parallel with these events, Leo of Chalcedon accused Eustratios Garidas with stealing some precious church

objects for himself during the confiscations which the patriarch himself initiated. The plot of the senators was discovered and their dissatisfaction did not materialise in a plain conspiracy until the scheme of Nikephoros Diogenes in 1094, as it can be deduced it from the surviving records. Nevertheless, the senators, as Anna Komnene attested, instigated Leo of Chalcedon to oppose fiercely Alexios I's policies. This brought about the strange, unreasoned conduct on the part of the prelate which was tangible from the beginning of the year 1084. Alexios I was trying to find remedy to the situation, but Leo could not be appeased. This brought about that the episcopal synod censured Leo (*katagnosis*) in January 1086. This was followed by the deposition (*kathairesis*) of the prelate from his episcopal office. Nonetheless, as Anna's narrative proves, Leo's activities did not cease: he assembled high-born people, probably members of the senatorial elite, around him with the intention of conspiring against the *basileus*. This, though, did not take place, as Alexios I became aware of the planned scheme which brought about the prelate's exile.

There are contradictory statements in the sources related to the date of Leo's exile to the Black Sea, as it has been discussed in the Introduction. Niketas Choniates stated that the prelate's exile took place a short time after his deposition ('μετά μικρόν').³⁶⁵ By contrast, in Anna Komnene's view, this happened a long time after Leo's removal from office. As I have showed in this section, the years 1090 and early 1091 constituted a period of turmoil. The confiscations after the measures on the *epibole* in 1089, the appointment of pro-Komnenian officers to some administrative posts in 1090, the risk of a two-front war and the revolt in Crete in 1091 probably led to escalating tensions which entailed the removal of the port-parole and hub of senatorial discontent: Leo of Chalcedon from the capital. Therefore, I locate Leo's banishment to the years 1090–1091.

The Blachernai synod which closed the Early Komnenian Debate on icons assembled in late 1094. Michael Angold called attention to 'the solemnity and importance of the occasion' which was apparent from the dignitaries present: two patriarchs, many metropolitans, the archbishop of Cyprus. Furthermore, almost the entire imperial house and the major office-holders attended the meeting.³⁶⁶ The Blachernai synod took place only some months after one of the most serious conspiracies took place against the rule of Alexios under the leadership of Nikephoros Diogenes.³⁶⁷ Nikephoros was the governor of Cyprus and a highly competent candidate to the throne.³⁶⁸ He was able to convince superior military officers, leading members of the senate, Michael Taronites and probably Alexios' brother Adrian Komnenos to take part in the conspiracy.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵ Niketas Choniates, *Σύνοψις τῶν δογμάτων*, 6.

³⁶⁶ Angold, *Church and Society*, 48. For the list, consult Gautier, 'Blachernes'.

³⁶⁷ The scheme of Nikephoros Diogenes is dated to the first part of 1094 by Cheynet (Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, § 128). For the plot itself, consult Frankopan's, in my view, outstanding analysis: Frankopan, 'Kinship', 17–19.

³⁶⁸ PBW (2016) Nikephoros 64 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Nikephoros/64/>] consulted 01 Jan 2020.

³⁶⁹ Al. 9.6.5. For Adrian's involvement, see Frankopan's assumption: Frankopan, 'Kinship', 19–32.

Nikephoros Diogenes' plot was revealed during Alexios' campaign near Serres, and Nikephoros, the leading schemer was arrested and tortured.³⁷⁰ When Alexios I became aware of the number and rank of people involved in the plot, declared general amnesty and punished only the three protagonists.³⁷¹ As Peter Frankopan emphasised, the significance of the Diogenes-plot lay in the fact that the closest around Alexios I had turned against the ruler in high numbers.³⁷² After returning to Constantinople, Alexios I immediately settled Leo's case during the autumn in an assembly where people of particular importance and rank were present. I think that the reason for this was not Leo's somewhat heterodox ideas about icons, but rather the significance of the prelate's supporters who comprised not only churchmen, but members of the senatorial elite, too. Leo's fate was similar to other schemers during the reign of Alexios I: his reinstatement in his office after 1094 showed the *basileus*' lenient policy towards people demurring against his rule.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ *Al.* 9.8.8.

³⁷¹ The names of the people involved were erased from those manuscripts of the *Alexiad* which presented the list, see *Al.* 9.8.8, apparatus for l. 96 at p. 276 and Frankopan, 'Kinship', 19.

³⁷² Frankopan, 'Kinship', 19.

³⁷³ During the period 1081–1094, people who plotted against the *basileus* were deposed from their office (Cheynet, *Pouvoir* § 114, § 126), sent into a monastery, imprisoned (§ 123), ridiculed (§ 124), or exiled (§ 116, § 120, § 128). However, in all the cases only the leaders were punished, in some cases there was no consequence at all (§ 119, § 122, § 125: the only person who was killed reached his end in the hands of local people from Crete: § 127); see also Frankopan, 'Kinship', 26–27 about Alexios' policy to control the information about the conspiracies and diminish the spread of the details, especially the name of the participants.

4. LEO OF CHALCEDON'S ECCLESIASTICAL SUPPORTERS

Eustratios of Nikaia's *Dialogos* presented Leo as a leading member of the church and the *synodos endemousa*.³⁷⁴ The *semeioma* of 1086, too, called attention to Leo's authority among churchmen.³⁷⁵ The historiography of Leo's controversy also directed attention to ecclesiastical supporters of the metropolitan. Alexander Glavinas singled out bishops such as Nicholas of Hadrianople and Basil of Euchaita.³⁷⁶ Victor Tiftixoglou embedded the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate into his narrative on the struggle for power between the patriarchal clergy and the metropolitan party which was masterminded by the emperor.³⁷⁷ In his seminal study, Tiftixoglou defined three groups within the clergy that interacted with each other in Constantinople as groups—thus having their own interests and conscience.³⁷⁸ These are the clergy of Hagia Sophia,³⁷⁹ the prelates who were forced to flee from their sees in Asia Minor due to the Seljukian invasion, and the metropolitans visiting the resident synod of the capital, the *synodos endemousa*. The surviving evidence points to the fact that Leo of Chalcedon was connected to the metropolitans, in particular. It cannot be excluded that monks supported him, too, whose monasteries were impoverished in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclasm.

4.1. SOME EXAMPLES

The most telling case is that of Basil, metropolitan of Euchaita. Being the most detailed, it gives the richest picture of a metropolitan who supported Leo of Chalcedon. Basil was an exiled metropolitan having his see in the Pontos region which fell to the Turks after the battle of Manzikert.³⁸⁰ Basil participated in John Italos' trial.³⁸¹ Afterwards, the metropolitan appeared at a certain point of the controversy which shows well his important position on Leo's side. In December 1083 Alexios called together a great synod to clear himself from the numerous

³⁷⁴ *Dial.* 129: Whom we had for a long time leading member of the church and the synod. ἀλλ' ὄνπερ διὰ χρόνου πλείστου τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς συνόδου πρωτεύοντα ἔσχομεν.

³⁷⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 118: Such a person whose words create a solemn air [...] and for a long time had an authoritative opinion regarding customs and laws of the church. τηλικούτος ἄνθρωπος, λόγῳ μὲν σεμνυνόμενος, [...] καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου τελείως ἐσχηκῶς τὴν διάγνωσιν.

³⁷⁶ *Dial.* 127: Λέοντος καὶ τῶν συνισταμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀντιπιπτόντων.; Glavinas, *Eris*, 130–132.

³⁷⁷ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 42–44.

³⁷⁸ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 36.

³⁷⁹ Better to nominate as 'patriarchal clergy', than 'Kathedralklerus'.

³⁸⁰ *CHBE*, 703–710. Presumably, Basil could not visit his see, but this question cannot be decided with certainty.

³⁸¹ Gouillard, 'Procès officiel', 141.

accusations originating from the confiscations.³⁸² The synod acquitted the emperor, nevertheless, Leo accused further Eustratios Garidas, thus the emperor had to create a committee to exonerate the patriarch.³⁸³ Interestingly, Basil of Euchaita was the only metropolitan, while the other members of the committee were recruited from the patriarchal clergy. The five most important officials were present:³⁸⁴ the *megas skeuophylax*, the *megas oikonomos*, the *sakellarios*, the *epi tes sakelles ton proedron*, and the *chartophylax*.³⁸⁵ As has been noted by Venance Grumel, the constitution of the committee suggests that the *basileus* coveted a favourable result to Eustratios Garidas, therefore he appointed only one (probably leading) member of the Chalcedonian faction of the episcopal bench.³⁸⁶ In January 1086 Basil was present in the session censuring Leo. According to the testimony of the letter addressed to the banished Leo by his protégé Nicholas of Hadrianople, Basil of Euchaita fiercely protested (εἰς παρρησίαν ἦλθε) against Leo's deposition.³⁸⁷ The metropolitan claimed that the *semeiosis* signed by members of the *synodos endemousa* and the emperor himself was not valid.³⁸⁸ When Leo was in exile, Basil of Euchaita changed sides and abandoned Leo's faction. This attestedly took place after June 1092.³⁸⁹ Basil also contributed to the discussions on the theory of images.³⁹⁰

Leo's *Letters* document his connections with Nicholas of Hadrianople and with patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (r. 1084–1111).³⁹¹ The correspondence reveals that Nicholas was Leo's protégé, and it is also clear that Nicholas was probably Leo's closest ally. Leo addressed Nicholas as ἀδελφὲ φίλτατε, while Nicholas accepted Leo as superior, labelling him θεοκίνητε καὶ θεοτίμητε δέσποτα.³⁹² Leo's nexus to the patriarch is formal, the words display obedience and the acknowledgement of the patriarch's superiority (the address of the patriarch is δέσποτά μου, ὁσιότης, τιμιώτατε καὶ περιπόθητε ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ).³⁹³ The letter does not show any grudge which any of the correspondents would have held against the other.

³⁸² Glavinas, *Eris*, 87–92.

³⁸³ Glavinas, *Eris*, 93–95.

³⁸⁴ The ἐξωκατάκοιλοι, see *Dar. Rech.* 58–60.

³⁸⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 116.

³⁸⁶ Grumel, 'Semeioma', 335, following him: V. Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 42, n. 115.

³⁸⁷ *Ep. Nic.* 413.

³⁸⁸ This synodal *semeiosis* which could not be identified by V. Grumel (V. Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 119), might be identical with *Dar. Reg.* § 952 (955).

³⁸⁹ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 121. It is mentioned in the letter that Basil, alongside with other metropolitans, had consented to the marriage of Bardas Xeros. The marriage took place in June 1092 and served as a precedent which enabled relatives to marry within the sixth degree of affinity, see *Dar. Reg.* § 954 (961); § 956 (963). In the letter, the marriage is referred to as a factum.

³⁹⁰ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 122–125; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 581–582.

³⁹¹ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 118–123 (*Ep. Nic.*); 130–132 (*Ep. Patr.*). According to Margaret Mullett's terminology, Nicholas was part of Leo's intimate zone. This is the second circle, following that of the relatives, or closest to a person, see Mullett, *Theophylact*, 184–186.

³⁹² For the vocabulary in letters collections which qualifies the network, see Mullett, *Theophylact*, 163–178.

³⁹³ *Ep. Patr.* passim.

4.2. ATTENDANCE LISTS AND EXILED PRELATES

In addition to the details presented so far, attendance lists may shed some light on those clergymen who had some connections with Leo's faction. Evidently, the attendance lists do not indicate personal statements from the side of the participants, moreover, the presence of prelates was influenced by a number of reasons, such as other occupations, circumstances of travel, military situation which made the appearance of a certain clergyman incidental. Leo of Chalcedon first appeared in a written record in the course of the trial of the philosopher, John Italos. Do we know anything about prelates participating in John Italos' trial and their later involvement in Leo's controversy? As presence lists of the epoch testify, Basil, metropolitan of Euchaita, Michael, metropolitan of Laodikeia, Gregory, metropolitan bishop of Neokaisareia, John, metropolitan of Side were those who condemned both the philosopher and in 1094 were present at the Blachernai-synod, the concluding step in the Chalcedonian controversy.³⁹⁴ They all belonged to the group who had fled from Asia Minor in the wake of the the Seljuks' advancement. At the same time, as they resided in Constantinople, they seem to have been the most active members in the synodical sessions of the epoch participating not only in assemblies related to the issue of Leo of Chalcedon, but also in other sessions which took place. If one visualises the sees of those prelates who were involved in one of the sessions dealing with Leo's case (see Map 2 in Appendix 1), it is straightforward that a good number of them, namely 13, were situated in Asia Minor. According to the testimony of the lists, there were fewer metropolitans from the European provinces, namely 8. These numbers are more telling in comparison to the geographical pattern of all the attendance lists which originate from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).³⁹⁵ Map 1 in Appendix 1 testifies that all together 32 metropolitans who resided in sees from Asia Minor and 18 in the European provinces took part in the assemblies. The pattern in Map 1 can be contrasted to the details presented in Map 2: in both cases the ratio of Eastern and Western metropolitans is similar. Thus, based purely on these numbers, it cannot be asserted that a greater number of Eastern than Western metropolitans supported Leo's case. Nonetheless, some more general observations on the group of the refugee prelates of Asia Minor can help understand the position of Leo's ecclesiastical supporters.

There is little evidence about the clergymen leaving Asia Minor. They started to move westwards and primarily to the capital after 1071, the battle of Manzikert, fleeing from the

³⁹⁴ See in the Appendix 2: Metropolitans and Archbishops in the Blachernai-synod.

³⁹⁵ See the details in Appendix 2: Metropolitans and Archbishops.

advancing Seljuks.³⁹⁶ Two diplomas from the year 1072,³⁹⁷ and 1080³⁹⁸ testify to their increased numbers in Constantinople. These attendance lists show that in the first instance 22 from 30, in the second instance 27 metropolitan bishops out of 32 were (at least theoretically) incumbents in Asia Minor. According to Victor Tiftixoglou, their number decreased gradually by the last years of the eleventh century. With the pacification of the Western provinces and some parts of Asia Minor they occupied their previous sees.³⁹⁹ The ultimate plan was to regain the territories lost to the Turks and to rebuild the church administration that took time. Alexios restored Byzantine rule in the coastline of Asia Minor, while John II Komnenos (r. 1118–1143) proceeded up to the Nikaia-Laodikeia line along the river valleys, but only Manuel I (r. 1143–1180) could restore parts of the Anatolian plateau.⁴⁰⁰ One of the first heroes who returned to the boarder zone to reside there was Niketas, bishop of Chonai, starting his career in the late 1130s and eulogised by his god-son, Michael Choniates.⁴⁰¹

The refugee prelates found their livings and new duties with difficulty.⁴⁰² Some of them, such as Nikephoros of Gangra, became monks. He is attested later as the *hegoumenos* of the Kosmidion monastery.⁴⁰³ Other prelates, such as the metropolitan of Lentopolis in Bithynia, acquired new sees in the environs of Constantinople.⁴⁰⁴ A continuous absence from their sees (σχολάζοντες) called into question these prelates' rights to perform their basic episcopal duties.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁶ On their status see Angold, *Church and Society*, 57–58. On the Seljukian advancement, see S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 42–68; J. Chrysostomides, 'The Byzantine Empire from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century', *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. K. Fleet (Cambridge, 2008) 1: 6–13.

³⁹⁷ N. Oikonomides, 'Un décret synodal inédit du Patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin', *REB* 18 (1960), 55–78., list on page 57.

³⁹⁸ J. Gouillard, 'Un chrysobulle de Nicéphore Botaneiatès à souscription synodale', *B* 29/30 (1959/60), 29–41, list on page 31.

³⁹⁹ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 49–51. Though, as Tiftixoglou himself demonstrated, some of them, such as the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, and the metropolitan of Ikonion never had been reinstalled to their previous sees.

⁴⁰⁰ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 124–129; Chrysostomides, 'The Byzantine Empire from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century', 11–22; M. Lau, *The Reign of Emperor John II Komnenos, 1087–1143: The Transformation of the Old Order*, PhD Diss. (Oxford, 2015), 170–310.

⁴⁰¹ Michael Choniates, *Enkomion of Niketas*, ed. S. Lampros, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα* (Groningen, 1968²), 1:24–71.

⁴⁰² Angold, *Church and Society*, 54.

⁴⁰³ *De translationibus*, ed. Darrouzès, § 50. The exiled patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch were in a special situation, since they had their own *metochia* in Constantinople, the monasteries of Diomedes the *Ton Hodegon* respectively, where they could live after fleeing to the capital. About them see most recently P. Bara, 'Limits of Patriarchal Jurisdiction During the Early Komnenian Period', *An Ecumene of Changes. The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Time*, ed., D. I. Muresan, D. Moreau (London, New York, 2018), forthcoming, with further bibliography.

⁴⁰⁴ *De translationibus*, ed. J. Darrouzès, 'Le traité des transferts: Édition critique et commentaire', *REB* 42 (1984), § 51.

⁴⁰⁵ As remnants of a controversy concerning their status indicates in Balsamon's *Commentaries*, their basic rights, such as that of ordination, of attending synods and so forth, have been challenged in the twelfth century, see Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:542–555; and Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:350, 12.

The refugees' permanent presence contributed to the changing character of the episcopal synod.⁴⁰⁶ At the same time, they did not have access to patriarchal offices, since Alexios Komnenos favoured the patriarchal clergy as his new allies.⁴⁰⁷

4.3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CONFISCATIONS ON MONASTERIES AND THEIR PENSIONERS

Victor Tiftixoglou and Michael Angold argued that the exiled metropolitans had common interests with representative of rich monasteries as some exiled metropolitans received corrodies from monastic institutions.⁴⁰⁸ The basis of the idea is a legislative document concerning the status of the exiled Anatolian metropolitans. The *basileus* issued a *prostaxis* in December 1096.⁴⁰⁹ The legislation assured the right of the patriarch to oversee and to correct all monasteries regardless of their status of their foundations, and of their actual administration (i.e. whether those lay in the hand of a *charistikarios*, or not). The *prostaxis* contained a restriction with regard to the patriarch. He had the right to provide a bishop who lost his see due to hostile invasion a living allowance (ἀδελφᾶτον) only from a patriarchal monastery.⁴¹⁰ The institution of ἀδελφᾶτον involved two types of beneficiaries (ἀδελφατάριος): those living inside a monastery (ἐσωμονῖται) and those who continued to live outside of it (ἐξωμονῖται). The grantee got provisions (σιτηρέσιον) for life from the monastery.⁴¹¹ Alexios I prohibited the patriarch to appoint an ἀδελφατάριος to a monastery which has been already burdened with a *charistikarios*. As it is clear from the order, the emperor put a ban on an existing practice.⁴¹² This legislation dates two years after the Chalcedonian controversy ended in 1094, thus, referred to a practice which, probably, existed also during the debate. This can be supported by evidence. John the Oxite criticizing the institution of the *charistike*⁴¹³ complained in the early 1090s:

The brothers belonging to the world who were registered [in the monastery] by emperors, or by *charistikarioi* are almost of the same number as the monks.

ἰσαρίθμοι γάρ εἰσιν σχεδὸν τοῖς μοναχοῖς οἱ ἐνταττόμενοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ χαριστικαρίων κοσμικοὶ ἀδελφοί, ἐσωμονῖται καὶ ἐξωμονῖται.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁶ Dar. Doc. 208–237.

⁴⁰⁷ Angold, *Church and Society*, 58.

⁴⁰⁸ Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 36; Angold, *Church and Society*, 57.

⁴⁰⁹ Dö. Reg. § 1187a.

⁴¹⁰ Zepos 1: 348.; Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen', 49.

⁴¹¹ ODB 1, 19., s. v. 'adelphaton'.

⁴¹² Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 208.

⁴¹³ John the Oxite, *Oration on not to Donate Monasteries to Laypeople*, ed. P. Gautier, P., 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB* 33 (1975), 77–132.

⁴¹⁴ Gautier, 'Réquisitoire', 123.474.

Even if we take this as a *hyperbole*, in all likelihood, a number of bishops earned their living that way.

Leo's *Letter to Alexios* testifies that the confiscation influenced monastic institutions. After the first confiscation took place, the metropolitan wrote:

The monasteries! How many sacred valuables were stripped off! If you need written evidence, look up the *brevia* and those will talk, not hiding the truth.

τὰ μοναστήρια, ὅσα ἱερὰ ἐσυλήθησαν [...] εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἐγγράφου μαρτυρίας, ζητήσατε τὰ βρέβια καὶ λαλήσουσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψονται τὴν ἀλήθειαν.⁴¹⁵

The list of the *hegoumenoi* called to the synod held in the Blachernai palace also suggest that they were influenced by the alienation.⁴¹⁶ Fifteen abbots attended the assembly, ten of them were heads of Constantinopolitan monasteries, two were leaders of provincial ones.⁴¹⁷ The list includes famous and great monasteries such as the St George in the Mangana complex (no. 5), the Stoudios (no. 1), or the Monastery *ton Hodegon* (no. 11), and also smaller institutions. I presume that those abbots attended the meeting not because of their authority, but because they had suffered losses during the confiscations. Moreover, it can be also contended that the exiled Anatolian metropolitans as ἀδελφατάριοι in monasteries suffered losses from their personal provisions as the result of the confiscations.

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The scarcity of evidence does not permit to give a detailed presentation about Leo's ecclesiastical supporters. Considering the increased role of the refugee metropolitans in the *synodos endemousa*, it is unlikely that Basil of Euchaita was the only exiled prelate who bolstered Leo's opposition. The other group of prelates in the pertinent synodal sessions came from the European provinces of the Empire who cannot be discarded either as being Leo's supporters. Finally, it is arguable that monks also supported Leo after suffering losses in the course of the alienation. If it is assumed that some refugee metropolitans earned corrodies from monasteries, the exiled prelates had a shared interest with monks.

⁴¹⁵ *Ep. Alex.* 403b l. 18, 26–27.

⁴¹⁶ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 276–280.

⁴¹⁷ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 219–220 and 276–280, three monasteries Gautier could not identify (Nos. 6, 10, 14).

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this unit of my dissertation I analysed Leo's relationships and network. The chapter presented that Leo of Chalcedon's activities were the continuation of those of Kosmas I. First, I gave an overview about the roles which patriarch Kosmas and his successor Eustratios Garidas played in the course of the Komnenian takeover. Afterwards, I examined Leo's *Letter to Alexios I* and showed that the metropolitan talked on behalf of the entire church and demanded the return of Kosmas I. I demonstrated that Leo's agency had broken through the limits of his metropolitan office and acted in lieu of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The second subsection gave an insight into the role which Leo as a holy man played in the Komnenian court. I presented Leo as the spiritual father of the Doukas-branch of the imperial family, arguably that of Alexios' mother-in-law, and George Palaiologos.

The third subchapter surveyed documents of the Komnenian Iconoclasm about an enigmatic group of 'bad people' who instigated Leo's opposition. First, it was shown on the basis of the imperial *semeioma* of 1086 that Leo's resistance became gradually fiercer after the beginning of the year 1084. The prelate withdrew his views only in December 1085, but returned to them in January 1086. The *Alexiad* tells that Leo was incited by people who fulfilled functions in the administration. After his deposition, the prelate prepared a scheme against Alexios which, under unknown circumstances, has been revealed and caused the prelate's exile. On the basis of that the 'bad people' can be connected to the administration, I identified them with members of the senatorial elite. In order to bolster this idea, first, I pinpointed that Leo returned to his hostile views in January 1086 in attendance upon a committee which consisted of senators, too. Second, the unit presented that after the takeover the Komnenoi members of the senatorial elite had lost their previous public positions and esteem. I examined the changes and its pace in the civil administration and identified the years 1080–1083, 1090, and 1094 as dividing periods, or lines. Third, I called attention to the fact that the time of the outbreak of senatorial conspiracies conformed to these dates. I contended that Leo renewed his opposition in early 1084; it cannot be excluded that the prelate was banished to Sozopolis around 1090; and the Blachernai-synod, the closing event of the Komnenian Iconoclasm took place in 1094. Thus, drawing parallels between the sequence of events in Leo's controversy and the waves of the outbreak of senatorial malcontent is arguable. On the basis of these parallels, I think that the 'malicious people', presented in the sources, were members of the civilian elite.

The last section of the unit targeted at Leo's ecclesiastical supporters. The scarcity of evidence does not allow a detailed presentation. Nevertheless, Leo's *Letters* demonstrate that Nicholas of Hadrianople and Basil, the metropolitan of Euchaita, were Leo's close allies.

Furthermore, Leo had a formal relationship with patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos. Finally, on the basis of attendance lists and other characteristics of the period, I think that the exiled metropolitans of Asia Minor, metropolitans officiating in the European provinces, and monks supported Leo's activities.

CHAPTER TWO. PAIDEIA

Margaret Mullett put it clearly: ‘Leo of Chalcedon was famous not as a scholar, but as a holy man’.⁴¹⁸ This statement is right, however, needs to be revisited, as sources of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate tell about Leo’s erudition, moreover, as their overview shows, they present Leo in a negative light. Anna Komnene in Book 5 of the *Alexiad* described Leo’s erudition, more narrowly, the prelate’s ideas on icon theology as follows:

The bishop made a ruthless attack on the emperor, who was staying at the time in the capital. A long discussion followed on the sacred objects. Leo maintained that the holy images were truly worshipped by us [i. e. the orthodox], not merely treated with reverence. On some points his arguments were reasonable and befitting a bishop, but on others he was unorthodox whether because of his contentious spirit and hatred for the emperor, or through ignorance, I do not know. He was incapable of expressing his ideas accurately and without ambiguity, because he was utterly devoid of any training in logic.

καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ μεγαλόπολει ἐνδημοῦντος, ἐφ’ ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις ἐσπουδάζετο, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀναιδέστερον προσέπεσε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι· καὶ συζητήσεως πολλῆς ἐντεῦθεν περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γινομένης, λατρευτικῶς, οὐ σχετικῶς δὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐδογματίζεν ἔν τισι μὲν εὐλόγως ἅμα καὶ ἀρχιερατικῶς ἐνιστάμενος, ἔν τισι δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς δογματίζων οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴτε δι’ ἔριν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέχθειαν τοῦτο πεπονθὼς εἴτε δι’ ἄγνοιαν· ἐξακριβοῦν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς τὸν λόγον οὐκ εἶχεν, ὅτι λογικῆς μαθήσεως ἀμέτοχος ὑπῆρχε παντάπασι.⁴¹⁹

I quoted here the entire section of Book 5 on Leo’s *paideia*, because this way it is clear that Anna referred to Leo’s theological argumentation when accused the prelate with the lack of rhetorical skills and logic. The imperial *semeioma* of 1086 similarly criticised Leo of Chalcedon that he had arrived to strange, new conclusions on accepted premises.⁴²⁰ In Book 7, Anna returned to Leo’s erudition again, complementing her statements in Book 5:

⁴¹⁸ Mullett, *Theophylact*, p. 72 fn. 302.

⁴¹⁹ *Al.* 5.2.5.

⁴²⁰ *Alex. Sem.* 123–124: But this conclusion was of another premise entailing even a new invention of ordinance, whose fitting inquiry will be made by my imperial majesty and in a *hypomnema* the conclusion’s meaning and its refutation will be included.

Πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐτέρας ὃν ὑποθέσεως, καὶ καινοτομίαν νέαν εἰσφέρον διαταγῆς, τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου τεύξεται, καὶ ἐν ὑπομνήματι ἡ δύναμις τοῦτου καὶ ἡ ἀρμόζουσα λύσις περιληφθήσεται. For the context of Leo’s *kainotomia*, see above p. 48–49.

Leo was a man who spoke his mind, in very truth a leader of the church, but he was a rather simple-minded man and his enthusiasm was occasionally based on insufficient knowledge. He had not even a profound grasp of the holy canons.

Ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος παρρησιαστικὸς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀληθῆ χαρακτῆρα ἐμφαίνων ἀρχιερέως, φρονήματος μέντοι ἀπλουστέρου καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἔστιν οὗ οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν εἶχε.⁴²¹

With regard to the prelate's erudition, the historian singled out two elements.⁴²² One was Leo's simplicity of mind (φρονήματος μέντοι ἀπλουστέρου) which was linked to his ζῆλος, the other was the prelate's inexpertise in canon law (οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν εἶχε). The question arises whether Anna presented a distorted image about certain aspects of Leo's *paideia*, in order to show the metropolitan as an ignorant accuser of his father Alexios I, or Leo was in fact less educated in certain disciplines. In this chapter, I assess Leo's canonical expertise first, then I examine his theological logic. The chapter refutes Anna's contention about Leo's canonical knowledge, but arrives to conclusions which corroborate the view about Leo's theological logic, recorded in the *semeioma* of 1086 and in the *Alexiad*.

1. A NEW HOMOLOGETES: LEO OF CHALCEDON'S APOLOGY

The present subchapter analyses Leo's oration, entitled *Apologos* ('Apology') which I edited on the basis of the only manuscript available today in the collection of the Escorial Library. Scholarship have been aware of Leo's oration, however, only some short excerpts were taken into consideration.⁴²³ The oration is worth studying, since it not only illustrates the course of the early Komnenian debate on icons with new details, but it also gives insight into poorly documented fields of the early Komnenian period. Pieces related to the rhetoric of the imperial court barely survived from the epoch.⁴²⁴ What is more, during the same decades only a few prelates wrote canonistic works,⁴²⁵ and it is more difficult to find even a couple of defence-speeches from the broader

⁴²¹ *Al.* 7.4.1.

⁴²² *Al.* 7.4.1.

⁴²³ Glavinas, *Eris*, 109–112.

⁴²⁴ Mullett, *Theophylact*, 75–76.

⁴²⁵ In addition to the orations of Niketas, metropolitan of Ankyra (*Dar. Doc.* 37–53), Patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos, Niketas of Herakleia, Elias of Crete and Niketas of Thessalonike wrote canonical *responsa* (Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 198–201). Alexios Aristenos who had a career in the patriarchal administration, started to work on his canonical commentaries ca. 1130, see *ibidem* 178–180.

epoch.⁴²⁶ The present analysis, which is to be read together with the published text in the *Appendix*, illustrates particularly the *paideia* of an early Komnenian prelate.

I set out to introduce the topic with a short exposé of the circumstances of delivery, afterwards the textual tradition, genre, and the oration's content is discussed. Third, the application of rhetorical tools and the oration's style is examined, finally, Leo's canonistic methodology is examined. On the basis of content-, and comparative analyses I argue that Leo of Chalcedon's canonistic erudition can be compared to such contemporaries as Niketas of Ankyra, or Ioannes Zonaras.

1.1. THE DELIVERY OF THE *APOLOGOS*

Leo's self-representation and his image, which is based on other sources, was changing in the course of the controversy. From 1082 Leo can be defined as a *parrhesiastes*, a person who dared to speak frankly in attendance upon the rulers.⁴²⁷ The prelate, however, became step-by-step harsher with his adversaries and unsound in his statements.⁴²⁸ As I discussed it earlier, Leo's behaviour can be seen in parallel with the opposition of the senatorial elite which influenced political decision-making before the Komnenian takeover. Leo's opposition crossed the boundaries of acceptable *parrhesia* after 1084 when the first conspiracy against Alexios I was discovered. Leo himself denied,⁴²⁹ but external sources confirm that the metropolitan had been encouraged to disagree with the emperor's and his supporters' standpoint.⁴³⁰

Because of the antagonism, Alexios I summoned Leo of Chalcedon for an imperial hearing in October 1085, after his return from the campaign against the Normans.⁴³¹ Patriarch Eustratios Garidas already renounced his throne during the summer of 1084, largely because Leo so fiercely criticised him. Despite the fact that an imperial investigation acquitted the patriarch, Leo still accused Garidas of supporting Alexios' alienation, of expropriating church objects and refused to

⁴²⁶ Only a small number of works survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries that can be compared to a defence speech. These are Michael Psellos' *Confession of Faith* (Michael Psellos, *Confession of Faith*, ed. J. Duffy, L. G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli Theologica* 2 (München, 2002), §35) his *Letter to John Xiphilinos* (Michael Psellos, *Letter to John Xiphilinos*, ed. U. Criscuolo, *Epistula a Giovanni Xifilino* (Naples, 1991). In addition to those, Nikephoros Basilakes' rhetorical exercise entitled *Against Bagoas* is a *psogos* (Nikephoros Basilakes, *Against Bagoas*, ed. A. Garzya, *Nicephori Basilacae orationes et epistulae*, Leipzig 1948, p. 92–110) and there is Niketas Choniates' apologetic oration against John Kamateros, too (Niketas Choniates, *Oration No. 8*, ed. J. L. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae* (Berlin, New York, 1972), 68–85).

⁴²⁷ Leo's self-representation as a *parrhesiastes*: Lavriotes, 'Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα', 414–416; External sources about the same topic: *Alex. Sem.* 122–123; *Al.* 7.4.1. For the *parrhesia* of bishops, see Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 267–273.

⁴²⁸ *Alex. Sem.* 118; *Al.* 5.2.6.

⁴²⁹ Lavriotes, 'Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα', 404.

⁴³⁰ *Al.* 5.2.6; *Alex. Sem.* 118.

⁴³¹ The main source for the years 1085 and 1086: *Alex. Sem.* 118–127. With the opinion of Alexander Glavinas (Glavinas, *Eris*, 99–135) only Venance Grumel (Grumel, 'Semeioma') and the present study disagree.

commemorate Garidas during the liturgy. What is more, Leo did not take communion with Nikolaos III Grammatikos, the novel patriarch (r. 1084–1111). Since Leo could not be appeased, the *basileus* launched an official investigation against the prelate. In November 1085, Leo of Chalcedon appeared in front of the *synodos endemousa*, the episcopal synod of the capital which was headed by the patriarch. Leo explained that he could not even bear to see Garidas' name among those of the previous patriarchs. In the course of the hearing, Leo charged Garidas with impiety (ἀσέβεια) for the first time. A subsequent assembly in December 1085 which consisted of metropolitans and was headed by the patriarch Nicholas required proofs and a canonistic demonstration from Leo.⁴³² The metropolitan asked some days for consideration, then he returned appeased. Leo took communion with the clergy, accepted patriarch Garidas' imperial acquittance, and did not charge him with Messalianism any more.

However, in January 1086 Leo resumed his previous hostile attitude and worded his previous accusations again. In addition to this, Leo expressed a novel charge, namely that not only Garidas was impious, but any sort of alienation related to church property was impiety.⁴³³ The metropolitan based his statements on ecclesiastic and secular law (τὸ ἅπαν κράτος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῶν κανόνων καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐξαρτησάμενος).⁴³⁴ The minutes did not present Leo's statement in detail, only summarised that in the following way:

Leo told that all kind of alienation, which happened in whatever way by whatever sort of person, was referred to as impiety, as [this] allows the form of the sacred things to change to something else.

Πᾶσαν εἶπεν ἐκποίησην ἱερῶν ὅπωςδήποτε παρ' οἰουδήτινος γινομένην, εἰς ἀσέβειαν περιφανῶς ἀναφέρεισθαι, μόνης ἐφειμένης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἵδους εἰς ἕτερον τῶν ἁγίων ἐξαλλαγῆς.⁴³⁵

In the *semeioma*, Leo's ideas were described as *καινοτομία*, since, according to the opinion of the examiners, the metropolitan arrived to new conclusions on accepted premises, therefore, the document promised an inquiry from the side of the emperor (ἐπισκοπῇ παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου)⁴³⁶, whose documents did not survive.

⁴³² *Alex. Sem.* 120.

⁴³³ *Alex. Sem.* 123.

⁴³⁴ *Alex. Sem.* 123.

⁴³⁵ *Alex. Sem.* 123.

⁴³⁶ *Alex. Sem.* 123–124: But this conclusion was of another premise entailing even a new invention of ordinance, whose fitting inquiry will be made by my imperial majesty and in a *hypomnema* the conclusion's meaning and its refutation will be included. Πλὴν ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐτέρας ὃν ὑποθέσεως, καὶ καινοτομίαν νέαν εἰσφέρον διαταγῆς, τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου τεύξεται, καὶ ἐν ὑπομνήματι ἡ δύναμις τοῦτου καὶ ἡ ἀρμόζουσα λύσις περιληφθήσεται.

As I have already noticed, in the course of that meeting the members of the senate were also present which had not been the case earlier.⁴³⁷ It can be plausible that their presence encouraged Leo to return to his previous contentions. Alexios I cut the case short. A number of canons were cited which threatened those clergymen with deposition who turned to a secular court first in a debate with another ecclesiastic. Furthermore, Leo was called sacrilegious (ιερόσυλος), since he did not accept the emperor's decree and was denoted as a public denouncer (συκοφάντης), and the accuser of Christians (χριστιανοκατήγορος) for bringing charges against patriarch Garidas without a sound basis. The imperial tribunal's minutes (σημείωμα) survived which was followed by the episcopal synod's decree.⁴³⁸

The minutes survived in a 14th-century manuscript.⁴³⁹ The *lemma* of the document testifies Leo's deposition (καθαίρεσις).⁴⁴⁰ On the basis of the *lemma*, scholars claim that Leo has been deposed from his episcopal office shortly after the decree. In spite of that, as Venance Grumel has already pinpointed, the minutes do not testify the metropolitan's removal from office, only promise that as a prospective canonical penalty.⁴⁴¹ The proem of Leo's *Apologos* supports Grumel's contention:

In order not to arouse by my incessant call to order a greater reprobation on the part of those who wanted me to retire from my own throne, I have chosen [this] of my own free will. But since my resignation, as I hear of it, the holy synod decreed not to accept it, and even your holy majesty exhorted me in writing, and as I have the divine zeal in my heart and I know what had been done and are being done regarding, to some degree, faith, I gave up resigning to act eagerly as a zealot of the truth to unmask and correct the wrongdoers, imitating the confessors who defended piety. Thus, I speak with *parrhesia* not by attacking certain people as they accomplished this, but by convicting on the basis of the holy scriptures the things which have been accomplished and the cause of their exaction of going beyond all idolatry.

ἵνα μὴ μείζονος αὐτοῖς κατακρίσεως πρόξενος διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς ὑπομνήσεως γίνωμαι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ οἰκείου μου θρόνου 10 τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκστῆναι προθύμως ἡρετισάμην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν παραίτησιν, ὡς ἀκούω, μὴ δεξάσθαι ἡ ἀγία τετύπωκε σύνοδος, ἐγγράφως δὲ μοι παρεκελεύσατο καὶ ἡ ἀγία σου βασιλεία, καὶ ὥσπερ ζῆλον θεῖον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ἔχω, καὶ οἶδα πράγματα πραχθέντα τε καὶ πραττόμενα, ἃ καθάπτεται 15 τινος περὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἵνα σπουδάσω ὡς ζηλωτῆς

⁴³⁷ Alex. Sem. 122: παρεστώτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς. I assess members of other assemblies at p. 52 above.

⁴³⁸ Alex. Sem. 127.

⁴³⁹ No. 360 in the collection of the monastery of Patmos, f. 331., Alex. Sem. 102.

⁴⁴⁰ Alex. Sem. 102: Τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει [my italics] τοῦ Χαλκηδόνης ἐκείνου γεγονὸς σημείωμα τοῦ αἰοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ. Alex. Sem. 102.

⁴⁴¹ Therefore, in Grumel's view, Leo of Chalcedon was only censured (κατάγνωσις) by the *synodos endemousa*, Grumel, 'Semeioma', 338.

τῆς ἀληθείας φανερώσαι καὶ διορθώσασθαι τοὺς κακῶς πράττοντας, μιμούμενος τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁμολογητὰς τὸ μὲν παραιτήσασθαι καταλέλοιπα, μετὰ παρρησίας δὲ λοιπόν, ἤδη λαλῶ, οὐ προσώπων τινῶν καταδρομὴν ὡς πραξάντων τοιαῦτα ποιούμενος, 20 ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐπράχθησαν ἀπελέγχων ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι πᾶσαν εἰδωλολατρείαν ὑπερβεβήκασιν.⁴⁴²

Therefore, Leo himself resigned his see (παραίτησις), but the *synodos endemousa* did not accept his abdication, furthermore, the *basileus* encouraged him, too, to remain in office. In the final section of the *Apologos* Leo seems to refer to the minutes of the *semeioma* of 1086:

It has already been demonstrated how a devout person in this matter will be considered an accuser, or how one's demonstration will be examined.

ἀποδέδεικται ἤδη πῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἰδιάζων τις κατήγορος λογισθήσεται, ἢ πῶς αἱ ἀποδείξεις ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐκζητηθήσονται.⁴⁴³

In my view, Leo in this passage referred to the charge of being a *χριστιανοκατήγορος*, moreover to his legal-canonistic arguments related to the transformation of sacred objects. If this assumption holds, the sequence of events can be reconstructed in the following way. After the charges had been brought against him in January 1086, Leo of Chalcedon resigned his see. However, neither the *synodos endemousa*, nor the emperor accepted Leo's retirement. Instead, Leo gained courage, and returned to the scene to demonstrate that the alienation of church property had been more than idolatry. Therefore, the prelate was not yet deposed from his office (καθαίρεσις) at that time, the most, he retired himself, presumably, only for a short period of time. This leads to the assumption that Leo delivered the *Apologos* soon after the emperor's *semeioma* had been issued, thus in early 1086.⁴⁴⁴

There are two other hints in the text which tell about the circumstances of delivery. First, Leo addressed the emperor in person at the beginning and at the end of the oration: ἐγγράφως δὲ μοι παρεκελεύσατο ἡ ἀγία σου βασιλεία (11), ὦ δέσποτα (184) προσέσχευ ἡ βασιλεία σου (194). Second, Leo emphasised that he was speaking: μετὰ παρρησίας δὲ λοιπόν, ἤδη λαλῶ (15). This suggests an oral delivery in the presence of Alexios I. This idea can be supported by the example of John the Oxite. The prelate, as I will discuss in Chapter Three, addressed Alexios I in the spring of

⁴⁴² *Apol.* 8–17.

⁴⁴³ *Apol.* 190.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Glavinas, *Eris*, 109–110 who positioned the oration between December 1085 and January 1086. Nevertheless, it is debatable, as the content of the *Apologos* suggests to date it after the *semeioma* of January 1086.

1091.⁴⁴⁵ The prelate had an oration, moreover, made a written synopsis of his arguments. At the beginning of the synopsis, John clearly separated his oral performance from the written version and used the same word ‘λαλῶ’ as Leo in the *Apologos*:

The things which I consider proper to explain and tell now, I present you, my lord, giving them in writing to you. My work will be at the same time the clearest and shortest and demonstrating everybody lucidly which I said.

“Α νομίζω προσήκειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἐκφράσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ταῦτα γραφῇ παραδούς σοι ὑποδείκνυμι, τῷ δεσπότῃ μου. Ἔσται δέ μοι ὁ λόγος σαφέστατος ἅμα καὶ συντομώτατος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι καταφανῇ δεικνὺς τὰ λαλούμενα.”⁴⁴⁶

Therefore, Leo delivered the *Apologos* in an oral form in the presence of Alexios I in the first months of 1086.

1.2. TEXTUAL TRADITION

Leo of Chalcedon’s *Apology* survived in one single manuscript which can be found today in the Escorial Library under the signature *Escor. Y. 2.7. (262)*.⁴⁴⁷ The paper codex is dated to the thirteenth-century and was part of Franciscus Patricius’ collection, a renowned Croatian Platonist who worked in Italy during the sixteenth century.⁴⁴⁸ The manuscript contains miscellaneous theological writings of church fathers, approximately the half of the texts treat the theology of images and topics related to Christology. The manuscript is of particular interest, since it preserves pieces of Theodoros Stoudites’ theological writings before the fourteenth century.⁴⁴⁹ Folios 16v l. 27–23r l. 24 contain Leo’s oration which is the chronologically latest piece in the codex.

⁴⁴⁵ P. 135–137.

⁴⁴⁶ Gautier, ‘Diatribes’, 49.

⁴⁴⁷ I would like to express my gratitude towards the librarians of the manuscript collection in the Escorial who provided me with the digital copy of the manuscript.

⁴⁴⁸ E. Jacobs, *Francesco Patricio und seine Sammlung Griechischer Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Escorial*, Leipzig 1908, p. 34. fn. 2.

⁴⁴⁹ G. de A. Martínez, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, Tom. II, vol. 9–15, Madrid 1965, p. 111–115, esp. 112; see also Joseph Paramelle’s handwritten notes on the manuscript: <http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/819308>.

1.3. GENRE AND OVERVIEW

The *lemma* of the manuscript copied together with main text by the same scribe denotes the oration as ἀπόλογος which meant ‘apology’ in the contemporary Byzantine usage.⁴⁵⁰ It is arguable to denote the oration as an apology, as Leo defended his standpoint against his accusers again. In January of 1086, Leo’s arguments against patriarch Garidas, and his demonstration against the reuse of sacred objects were refuted. The prelate gave up his opposition and chose to resign without saying the last word in the debate. However, Leo gained courage after both the synod and the emperor rejected his decision. In the *Apology*, Leo did not explain the reason of his retirement as did Nicholas Mouzalon a decade later when renouncing the see of Cyprus,⁴⁵¹ instead he found new arguments to contend the same as he did in January 1086: any sort of alienation, in general, amounts to impiety (ἀσέβεια).

Moreover, in the oration’s poem Leo of Chalcedon redefined his role. As I already mentioned in Chapter One, Leo exercised *parrhesia* in his *Letter to Alexios I*. However, in the present oration, Leo fashioned himself as a new defender of piety, an *apologetes*, consciously reflecting on the apologetic tradition.⁴⁵² This is evident, in particular, from the structure of the oration.⁴⁵³ Leo followed prescriptions for an accusation in the δικανικὸν γένος, the *genus iudiciale*, and he turned his apology into an accusation. Nonetheless, Leo did not deliver a *psogos*, but chose a more modest form, thus he pretended to be impersonal in his charges:

Now I tell with *parrhesia* which follows, not by attacking certain people as they accomplished this, but by convicting on the basis of the divine writings the things which have been accomplished and the cause of their exaction of going beyond all idolatry.

μετὰ παρρησίας δὲ λοιπὸν, ἤδη λαλῶ, οὐ προσώπων τινῶν καταδρομὴν ὡς πραξάντων τοιαῦτα ποιούμενος, 20 ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐπράχθησαν ἀπελέγχων ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι πᾶσαν εἰδωλολατρείαν ὑπερβεβήκασιν.⁴⁵⁴

During his preparations, in the phase of the *inventio*, Leo seems to follow the general rule of the *genus iudiciale* keeping in mind that the task of the *actio* was the correct legal classification of

⁴⁵⁰ See: Niketas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, ed. I. Hausherr, *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicéas Stéthatos* (Rome, 1928), p. 94 l. 14; Michaelis Pselli *Theologica*, I., ed. P. Gautier, Leipzig 1989, p.102 l. 31.

⁴⁵¹ See S. Doanidou, ‘Η παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου’, *Hellenika* 7 (1934), 109–150.

⁴⁵² *Apol.* 14: μιμούμενος τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁμολογητὰς.

⁴⁵³ For discussions of an ἀπολογία, see: *ODB* 1 138 s. v. ‘Apology’; *Lausberg* § 61.1b and 140–223; Aristotle, *Rhetorics* 1.3, 1358b 11; Quintilian, *Institutes* 3.9.1.

⁴⁵⁴ *Apol.* 15–17.

the deed that has been committed.⁴⁵⁵ Leo applies idolatry as a structural frame for his performance: he equals the alienation of sacred objects with idolatry in the *exordium* and finished the oration with a short characterisation of what idolatry is.⁴⁵⁶ In order to explain his view that Alexios I and his entourage were sacrilegious, immediately after the proem, the metropolitan followed the rules of composing an accusation for which the *status finitionis* was the appropriate *status*.⁴⁵⁷ In a case where the committed crime could not be denied, but the question was to designate it with a proper name, the rhetor must have proceeded to a *ratiocinatio*, or syllogisms.⁴⁵⁸ Leo followed that way and defined his oration as a ‘demonstration’, ἀποδείξις.⁴⁵⁹ Leo did not use the expression in the rhetorical sense,⁴⁶⁰ but as a technical term for an elementary treatise on a certain topic.⁴⁶¹

The core problem of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate was that the regents melted down church decorations and objects. Their argumentation was based ‘on the ancient laws and canons on the alienation of sacred objects which [the regents] examined’, as Anna Komnene singled out.⁴⁶² When Anna Komnene mentioned *nomoi*, she referred to Justinianic legislation which permitted the ransoming of Christian prisoners of war by means of confiscated church property.⁴⁶³ This legal concession was also recorded in the *Apology*.⁴⁶⁴ It is, nonetheless, not entirely clear, which canons bolstered the alienation of the Komnenoi. As it will be discussed at the section which examines Leo’s legal methodology, the prelate aimed at refuting the legislation of Justinian, to a lesser degree on the basis of classical customs, and, to a greater degree, on the basis of the Scriptures and canons of the church. Leo built up an argumentation consisting of six parts. Leo’s starting and final statement was that the alienation of church property had been equal to idol-worship, thus implicitly his adversaries were worshippers of idols. The metropolitan used time to sew these points together: the sources presented and analysed follow each other in a chronological order from ancient Jewish customs to the actual time of Alexios’ reign. The structural overview of the oration is as follows:

⁴⁵⁵ Lausberg § 141.

⁴⁵⁶ *Apol.* 157–200.

⁴⁵⁷ Lausberg § 166–170.

⁴⁵⁸ Lausberg § 170 and § 108.

⁴⁵⁹ *Apol.* 33.

⁴⁶⁰ The expression from a rhetorical point of view means the resulting proof; see Lausberg § 372.

⁴⁶¹ *Apol.* 188–189, thus εἰσαγωγή, an introductory, or elementary treatise on a topic, see *LSJ* 493 s. v. ‘εἰσαγωγή’.

⁴⁶² *Al.* 5.2.2: εἰς τοὺς πάλαι κειμένους νόμους καὶ τοὺς κανόνας περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκποιήσεως ἀπέβλεψαν.

⁴⁶³ *Aedes sacrae et dona, quae rite ad ministerium Dei dedicata sunt, [...] alienari et obligari prohibuimus, excepta causa redemptionis captivorum, Justinian, Institutes* 2.1.7–9, *CIC* 1:10; Τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτιμίων φυλαττομένων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱερὰ σκεύη παρὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἢ ἐνεχθραζόντων ἢ πωλούντων ἢ χωνευόντων ἐπὶ ἐκποιήσει [...] πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο διὰ ἀνάγκης αἰχμαλώτων, ἔνθα ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεροῦσι θανάτου καὶ δεομῶν τῇ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐκποιήσει κειμηλίων, Justinian, *Novel* 7.8, *CIC* 3:59 l. 32–60 l.2.

⁴⁶⁴ *Apol.* 83.

lines 4–17	proem	<p>Leo censures the alienation of sacred objects</p> <p>The <i>synodos endemousa</i> did not accept Leo's resignation</p> <p>Leo presents himself as a new defender of faith (ὁμολογητής); his aim is to demonstrate that the alienation of church property amounts to idol-worship</p>
17–32	all parts of Christian churches are holy	
	17–24: first argument	<p><i>synkrisis</i> of pagan temples with Christian churches</p> <p>if a church collapses, its place remains holy</p>
	24–32: second argument	<p>within the church everything is gradually more sacred (such as the sanctuary, the altar, the sacred vessels, the holy bread and wine)</p>
32–33	definition of the genre of the oration: ἀπόδειξις	
33–80	sacred things cannot be alienated from churches	
	33–34	the example of Oza
	35–36	the example of Achar
	37–47	<p>Gregory of Nazianzos' argument from his <i>Apology</i>: sacred things are not to be touched, or viewed</p>
	47–51	<p>Gregory of Nazianzos' words from his <i>Against the Arians</i></p>
	51–62	Ezekiel's words against those who profaned the sacred
	62–72	<p>canon of Cyril: as the utmost concern of a bishop, the sacred treasures of a church must be preserved</p>
	72–74: canon 21 of Laodikeia	the subdeacons cannot touch the sacred things

	74–80: canon 69 of Trullo	laymen cannot enter the sanctuary
80–86	Christian prisoners of war cannot be ransomed by means of alienated church property	
86–107	Leo criticizes the pseudoprophets	
	86–87	the alienation must be condemned based on its fruits and results
	87–94	Leo recalls the last judgement and condemns the pseudoprophets based on the Scripture (Mt 7:21–23)
	94–107	the example of Nikephoros I refuting Constantine V Kopronymos
107–157	statements related to icon theology	
	107–114 venerating an icon means to venerate the prototype	
	114–122 Theodoros Stoudites' thoughts on icon veneration	the icon by imitation has the same substance as Christ, thus when one venerates an icon, venerates Christ
	122–125 quote from the <i>Tomus Leontis</i>	
	125–132 the destruction of an icon is equal to the negation of Christ's humanity	
	132–157 acts of the Second Council of Nikaia approving icon-veneration	
157–200	based on Paul's teaching Leo demonstrates that the avarice directed against the icons is more than idolatry	
	194–200: Leo addresses Alexios I	one can be condemned, if being aware of the truth, retains, or conceals it

In the proem, Leo referred to the circumstances which brought about his *Apologos*, presented himself as a defender of faith and the deeds of his adversaries as idol-worship. In the first part of the oration, Leo demonstrated that all parts of the Christian churches were sacred. Starting from classical Greek customs, Leo supported his argumentation with biblical and patristic examples, afterward he cited synodal decrees. In the third unit, the prelate considered the alienation of

church property to ransom Christian prisoners of war unacceptable. In the fourth part, Leo chastised pseudoprophets and emphasised the bravery of patriarch Nikephoros I who refused the ‘dunk-named’ (τὸν κοπρώνυμον) in a dialogue. It was a clear reference to the iconoclast emperor Constantine V. The fifth part of the oration is a series of quotes related to the icons which are not elaborated into a coherent unit. Leo tried to closely link the icons with the prototype; he also drew attention to the unity of Christ’s human and divine natures, finally, cited the entire passage from the decrees of the *Nicaeum Secundum* concerning icons. As a closure, the metropolitan argued that the avarice directed at icons went beyond even idolatry. Therefore, Leo of Chalcedon composed a canonistic demonstration to refute the Justinianic legislation and to defend his standpoint against the alienation of church objects. After some remarks on the textual tradition, genre and structure, the oration’s rhetoric and style is examined.

1.4. RHETORIC AND STYLE

Leo of Chalcedon asserted his claims on idolatry in a situation which demanded oral performance. Therefore, also further parts of the treatise are to some degree rhetoricized. This is definitely not a flamboyant style, but a form fitting to the situation of apologetic performance and subservient to a canonical, or legalistic tract.⁴⁶⁵ Leo makes two longer sentences at the beginning of the proem starting the oration with a proleptic structure. It is the proem where one can find figures of speech, thus a *hysteron proteron* (7: συντρίβεσθαι καὶ ἐκποιεῖσθαι) and a *prolepsis* (13: ἵνα σπουδάσω). The prelate illustrated the superiority of the sacred Christian space to a pagan one with a *synkrisis*,⁴⁶⁶ and the gradually more holy nature of parts of the temple with a *klimax*.⁴⁶⁷ A *hysteron proteron* is to be found in the middle of the tract which is an emotionally elevated passage. The sentence discusses the core problem which Leo tries to address: the relationship of the iconic material and its prototype.⁴⁶⁸ Finally, figures which pertain to the legal language were also applied by the metropolitan which I examine below.

The use of *loci* can also be detected in Leo’s argumentation.⁴⁶⁹ In the case of the *status finitionis*, theoreticians of rhetoric suggested to use *argumenta ex loco*.⁴⁷⁰ This meant that the orator could influence his audience by visualising the place where the actual crime was committed. Leo started his argumentation by using the antagonistic pair ‘holy–profane’. The metropolitan used the

⁴⁶⁵ For the use of different levels of style, see I. Ševčenko, ‘Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose’, *JÖB* 26 (1977), 289–312.

⁴⁶⁶ *Apol.* 17–24.

⁴⁶⁷ *Apol.* 24–32.

⁴⁶⁸ *Apol.* 128–129: He [who alienated sacred objects] not only would think that Christ’s icon is only a simple matter and that he *destroyed and alienated* that simple matter.

⁴⁶⁹ On the use of *loci*, see *Lausberg* § 373–379.

⁴⁷⁰ *Lausberg* § 382–384.

term itself (*synkrisis*), too, and compared the pagan temples to Christian churches. According to the prelate's argumentation, if a pagan temple collapsed, its place, nevertheless, remained separated from other types of properties and could not be sold the same way. In the case of Christian sanctuaries, if a church fell apart, the parcel where it had been built, remained sacred.⁴⁷¹ The alienation of sacred objects therefore amounted, indeed, to sacrilege, because ecclesiastical institutions in use were deprived of their ornaments and holy objects. Leo not only used the collapse of the sacred space as visually effective means, but aimed at persuading his audience about the impious nature of the expropriation of church property.

Leo of Chalcedon also used the *locus of exemplum*, or παράδειγμα to bolster his train of thought.⁴⁷² There are four Biblical instances, commemorating figures of the Old Testament. They are Oza,⁴⁷³ Achar,⁴⁷⁴ Nabouzardan and Baltasar,⁴⁷⁵ which are used negatively, as paradigms not to imitate, and are connected to the treatment of the sacred in the Old Testament. From the viewpoint of rhetorical theory, these can be classified as *typoi*.⁴⁷⁶ In addition to this, there is a longer example which takes the form of a narrative *excursus*. Leo dedicated a longer section to an account on patriarch Nikephoros I (r. 750–828), the champion of icon-veneration.⁴⁷⁷

As it shall become clear in the course of this analysis, Leo worked hard to create a professional impression which gave authority to his ideas. In the framework of the Roman-Byzantine legal culture, a specialised technical-legal language existed which the metropolitan applied throughout his defence-speech.⁴⁷⁸ In the following paragraphs, the features of the legal-canonistic language are collected under three headings: 1) terminology; 2) stylistic tendencies; and 3) legal turns of thought.

⁴⁷¹ Justinian, *Institutes* 2.1.7–9, *CIC* 1:10: Nullius autem sunt res sacrae et religiosae et sanctae: quod enim divini iuris est, id nullius in bonis est. Sacra sunt, quae rite et per pontifices deo consecrata sunt, veluti aedes sacrae et dona, quae rite ad ministerium dei dedicata sunt, quae etiam per nostram constitutionem alienari et obligari prohibuimus [see: *ibidem* 1.2.21.], excepta causa redemptionis captivorum. Si quis vero auctoritate sua quasi sacrum sibi constituerit, sacrum non est, sed profanum. Locus autem, in quo sacrae aedes aedificatae sunt, etiam diruto aedificio adhuc sacer manet.

⁴⁷² *Lausberg* § 410–426.

⁴⁷³ *Apol.* 34.

⁴⁷⁴ *Apol.* 36.

⁴⁷⁵ *Apol.* 48–49.

⁴⁷⁶ For the difference between *exemplum* and *typos*, see C. Rapp, 'Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium', in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino, R. S. Nelson (Washington D. C., 2010), 175–198, at 177–183 and 201.

⁴⁷⁷ *Apol.* 94–107.

⁴⁷⁸ The technical-legal language can be characterised in the following way (D. Wagschal, *Law and Legality in the Greek East: The Byzantine Canonical Tradition*, 381–883 (Oxford, 2015), 169–170): 'This discourse manifest itself in the use of specialized and proprietary vocabulary and stylistic tropes; a strong interest in terminological, conceptual, and definitional precision and consistency (and thus the heavy use of formulaic phrases); a tendency to schematize and proceed methodologically through different aspects of a problem, usually with considerable attention to hypothetical dilemmas; a strong accent on detail and comprehensiveness of rule elaboration, including special concern for exceptions [...] and finally, a concern to speak within and to the rules– that is, to refer to other rules often'.

With respect to the terminology, Leo of Chalcedon used specialised words in the respective fields he was dealing with. They are terms for legislation, or legal documents: νόμος (civic law), νόμιμα (customs), νεαρά (novel), κανών (ecclesial rule), ἀπαγορεύει (to declare), ὁ τοιοῦτος κανὼν ἐνεργεῖ (to be valid) προδήλωσας; νόμου τάξιν λαβὼν (assuming the role of a civic law); the vocabulary of the canonical-legal procedure he was subject to, namely παραίτησιν δεξάσθαι (to accept an entreaty), ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος (referring to the *synodos endemousa* as a decision-making ecclesial body); terms to describe his rhetorical and literary methods: σύγκρισις (comparison), ἀπόδειξις (demonstration), μιμούμενος (imitating...) τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁμολογητὰς, ἀσυλλόγιστον (explained with syllogism); vocabulary of a trial situation: ἀπελέγχω (to refute), ἀδικία (unlawful deed), ἁμαρτία (guilt); court ritual: ἡ ἁγία σου βασιλεία, ἡ βασιλεία σου; language concerning land and property: τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὁ τόπος (soil, parcel of land), τὰ ὑποκειμένα in the same meaning, the key term of the oration: ἐκποίησης (alienation, confiscation); finally, elements of theological language, such as ὕλη (matter), ὑπόστασις (in the sense of substance⁴⁷⁹), πρωτοτύπος (prototype), which occur, though, in the section dealing with icon theology. The use of terms was enhanced by citations from legal, canonistic, and theological documents which contained a plethora of specialised vocabulary.

Regarding its style, the *Apology* was written in scholarly prose. The metropolitan explained his thoughts in some longer sentences where the argument is expressed in one breath. Those passages typically support an argument with further thoughts, separated by cola.⁴⁸⁰ In some parts, such as that of the *excursus* on Nikephoros I, where Leo's text is rather narrative than argumentative, longer sentences are connected with participles.⁴⁸¹ After the proem Leo used a continuously flowing language of scholarly prose. Sentences are of middle length, sometimes direct questions interrupt the explanation. The following passage clearly illustrates Leo's legal language:

The canon of holy Cyril prevails over the *neara* as it dates after that and assumes the role of a *nomos*. By means of the evident discrepancy between the *neara* and itself, the canon forbids to everybody to alienate sacred objects saying that way: 'The sacred treasures and immovable possessions of the church must be preserved and cannot be alienated'.⁴⁸²

The metropolitan's introductory words were written in a language which is similar in terms of density to the language of the canon, coming afterwards. Leo broadcasted his statement with a finite verb which is a legal terminus for announcing public prohibition: ἀπαγορεύει,⁴⁸³ which is followed

⁴⁷⁹ Lampe c. 1458 2D s. v. 'ὑπόστασις'.

⁴⁸⁰ Apol. 82–84, 77–79, 125–129.

⁴⁸¹ Apol. 94–107.

⁴⁸² Apol. 63–66.

⁴⁸³ LSJ c. 174 s. v. 'ἀπαγόρευω'.

by the term for alienation (ἐκποίησης). The other statements are joined with two participles (ἐπικρατέστερος ὢν, λαβῶν) and with the use of the preposition διὰ.

Legal pleonasms can be found in Leo's oration in many instances which involve the rapid restating of concepts and actions with the tense changed, or the sense somewhat altered.⁴⁸⁴ These figures convey a sense of precision, authority, and comprehensiveness.⁴⁸⁵ The prelate also applied categoricals.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, Leo seems to operate with consciously rhetoricized elements of the legal language.⁴⁸⁷

The use of legal turns of thought, the third category under examination, in the *Apology* is particularly evident, if one looks at the way how Leo cited his sources. Quotations give a particularly legal outlook to the *Apologos*. Leo's quotations are numerous and sometimes fairly long. A good example is the reference to stipulations of the Second Council of Nikaia regarding the veneration of icons. Leo quoted the entire passage (*Apol.* 7.13–8.14) which extends to more than a page and makes up one tenth of the entire oration. It can be paralleled with a few examples in the orations of Leo's colleague, Niketas, the metropolitan of Ankyra.⁴⁸⁸ The accumulation of rule references created the impression that the prelate was speaking within a defined system of norms, those of the canons of the church.⁴⁸⁹ This was the metropolitan's most important handhold in the course of his demonstrative defence-speech.

The fact that Leo's *Apology* is intervoven with elements of the technical-legal discourse, bestowed two kinds of authority to Leo's *Apologos*. On the one hand, longish citations, pleonasms and the deployment of categoricals meant to be a show-off of precision and the awareness of a specialised legal knowledge, which eventually lent professional authority to the text. On the other hand, it was the authority of the church tradition where Leo sought refuge, especially with extensive quotations. At the end of the section on the holiness of icons, the prelate singled out: '[...] in the icons the truth is venerated and adored. The edicts of seven ecumenical synods [testify this]'.⁴⁹⁰ The metropolitan emphasised that he was not only speaking on behalf of the church as a *homologetes*, but the church,

⁴⁸⁴ Wagschal, *Law and Legality*, 176–177.

⁴⁸⁵ *Apol.* 155–156: It is clear from those which has been *clarified*, *known* and *taught* before us that from the icons and in the icons the truth is *venerated* and *adored*; see also: 106–109; a less legal, but rather rhetoricized passages which referred implicitly to Alexios I: 128–129 and 132.

⁴⁸⁶ *Apol.* 67–69: This canon is also influential clarifying with thorough prescriptions the duties of each anointed bishop, encompassing *affirmative* and *prohibitive* rules in the following way.

⁴⁸⁷ It can be observed when the metropolitan introduced a stipulation with his own paraphrase, f. i. *Apol.* 133–135: [...] the Seventh Synod which counted anything that had come about before it was convened in a *written*, or *unwritten* way by anybody regarding the ecclesiastical tradition as *facta*, already says this way: 'We defend the written and unwritten decrees of the church as a tradition'. Leo played up the rhetoricised element in his introductory comment.

⁴⁸⁸ *Darr. Doc.* 184 where a quotation runs for three-third of the page in the critical edition, the second one in length is *ibidem*, p. 240 extending for half of a page. For Niketas of Ankyra, see below p. 91.

⁴⁸⁹ Wagschal, *Law and Legality*, 176–177.

⁴⁹⁰ *Apol.* 156–157.

with its entire tradition, was also defending him. This secured Leo's religious authority in the *Apologos*.

1.5. LEO AS A DEBATING CANONIST: LEGAL-APOLOGETIC METHODOLOGY

In the preceding sections it has been presented that Leo of Chalcedon employed legal language. However, in addition to the proper use of language, an apologist had to meet numerous requirements when pleading his case in the early Komnenian period. The *Timarion*, a satirical work imitating the late-antique author Lucian, helps to elucidate the question.⁴⁹¹ The story contains a trial scene in which Timarion, the protagonist, asks for help from the famous rhetorician, Theodore of Smyrna to plead his case.⁴⁹² When Theodore of Smyrna's skills as a lawyer is described, the following elements are put into the centre: keenness of mind, a ready wit, fluent and lucid style, and knowledge of medical jargon.⁴⁹³ In other words, a lawyer was expected to speak clearly, apply the appropriate methodology, and argue on a proper basis. In the following section, by means of comparative analyses, I assess these skills regarding Leo of Chalcedon.

1.5.1. ARGUING ON A PROPER BASIS: THE LIBRARY OF A JURIST AND CANONIST

What sources an expert of civic and canon law ought to have used in late-eleventh-century Byzantium to be regarded as equal to his peers? Unfortunately, the evidence is only indirect, 'legal libraries' as such did not survive in their entirety, monastic collections and references to the holdings of the Constantinopolitan patriarchal library provide only a partial picture.⁴⁹⁴ One of the plausible ways of enquiry is to study writings of law-experts. Regarding the eleventh century, Günter Weiss compiled a list of legal works to which Michael Psellos had access.⁴⁹⁵ What were the juristic textbooks and inventories which Psellos had at his disposal, as it can be collected from his writings?⁴⁹⁶ Psellos based his knowledge of secular law on alphabetic collections of Roman law and *senatusconsulta*. In addition to this, the polymath consulted an overview of Justinian's *Digests* and his *Institutes*, the latter in the form of a *Paraphrase*, together with the pertaining scholia.⁴⁹⁷ The *Paraphrase* was compiled by Theophilos, the sixth-century law expert and *antecessor*. Theophilos' smaller law

⁴⁹¹ Pseudo-Lukianos, *Timarion*, ed. R. Romano, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione* (Naples, 1974).

⁴⁹² Pseudo-Lukianos, *Timarion*, ed. R. Romano, p. 76 l. 736–737.

⁴⁹³ The last is central, because Theodoros has to demonstrate for medical experts (Hippokrates and Asklepios) that Timarion, the story's main character, pertains to the realm of people still alive. See R. Macrides, 'The Law Outside the Lawbooks: Law and Literature', *Fontes Minores* 11 (2005), 140–141.

⁴⁹⁴ G. Weiss, 'Die juristische Bibliothek des Michael Psellos', *JÖB* 26 (1977), 79–80.

⁴⁹⁵ Weiss, 'Die juristische Bibliothek', 90; Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 179–180.

⁴⁹⁶ Weiss, 'Die juristische Bibliothek', 86–101; see also Chitwood's summary with slightly different emphases: Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 180–182.

⁴⁹⁷ For the *Digests*, see ODB 1 623 s. v. 'Digest'; for the *Institutes*, ODB 2 1000 s. v. 'Institutes'.

collection, together with collections from other *antecessores* was also at Psellos' disposal.⁴⁹⁸ The polymath exhibited his knowledge about certain strange stipulations (ξένα) as well from Justinian's *Novels*. Psellos consulted *Novels* of Leo VI (r. 886–912) in the form of excerpts. Furthermore, he used the ninth-century *Basilics*,⁴⁹⁹ presumably in the form of florilegia, and also scholia which commented different passages of the stipulations. Psellos also referred to collections of novels which had been issued by different emperors. Psellos' works attest his knowledge of juristic lexica and glosses, an alphabetic commentary and treatises about different kinds of *actiones/agogai* and *obligationes/enochai*. With respect to canon law, Psellos used a canon law collection which is not known to us and contained decrees of ecumenical and local synods in a mixed form. Additionally, his legal writings testify the use of Photios' *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*.⁵⁰⁰

As the research of Zachary Chitwood and David Wagschal demonstrates, there was not a separate training in canon law in Byzantium and the limits between secular and ecclesiastical legislation were blurred.⁵⁰¹ As a consequence, the above described characteristics certainly applied for churchmen. Experts of canon law came with an education in secular law. As ecclesiastics, they based their arguments on the *kanones* and they applied *nomoi*, as, at least in theory, inferior to ecclesiastical stipulations. The main difference between a lawyer and a canonist was the ratio of sources applied. As a general norm, a canonist must have quoted the Scriptures, *kanones*, fathers of the church and ecclesiastical writers. In addition to this, also *nomoi* came into consideration, discussing questions in some way related to the church.

The genre here played a role. In the case of canonical *responsa*,⁵⁰² canonical commentaries,⁵⁰³ canonical treatises or orations, the look at the ratio of sources applied suggests difference in approach. The analysis of canonical questions in the form of treatises, or orations, constituted a separate group of canonical writings.⁵⁰⁴ These can be compared to the canonical commentaries with the difference that the approach was less systematic and the topic was more focused. The orations

⁴⁹⁸ On Theophilos, see ODB 3 2065 s. v. 'Theophilos', for the *antecessores*, ODB 1 109 s. v. 'Antecessores'.

⁴⁹⁹ Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 153–156.

⁵⁰⁰ Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 138–142. It is noteworthy that Psellos did not consult law collections, but used paraphrases, abridged versions and commentaries. The post-Justinianic legislation is only haphazardly referenced, with the exception of the *Basilics*. What is more, there are some juristic texts which can be traced only in Psellos' works (Weiss, 'Die juristische Bibliothek', 101). As Weiss observed, Psellos' legal library showed that Psellos' purpose had been to teach theory, to focus on problematic Latin terms, and also to introduce his pupils to general phenomena of classical antiquities. Weiss assumed that his pupils probably also attended more practical classes of another schoolmaster (*ibidem* 102.).

⁵⁰¹ Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 150–183; Wagschal, *Law and Legality*, 81 coined the term 'borrowed specialisation' denoting the 'transfer' and employment of secular legal scholars to the field of canon law.

⁵⁰² Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 168–169.

⁵⁰³ Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 176–183.

⁵⁰⁴ Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 204–206.

of Niketas, metropolitan bishop of Ankyra, are cases in point.⁵⁰⁵ Niketas was the ringleader in a debate between the metropolitans and the patriarchal clergy between 1084 and 1088. The controversy arose regarding the status of two episcopal sees, Madytos and Basileion, which were suffragans of Ankyra. During the debate, Niketas of Ankyra composed four orations to buttress his position from different aspects.⁵⁰⁶ These works can be compared to Leo's *Apology*. Their context is similar: Niketas defended his views using the Scriptures, canonical and patristic sources. The addressees are the *synodos endemousa*, or the emperor, or both. The orations are the written forms of an entreaty (ζήτησις) to the synod, as the *On Ordinations* and the *On the Right of Resignation*; a written, yet orally performed reply to a charge, or decree from the part of Alexios I, as the *On Synods* and the *On the Elections*. The topics Niketas treat are strictly canonical problems, pertaining to the administration of the church. Compared to this, Leo's *Apology* discusses a more general thematic, involving theological argumentation and also spiritual advice.

An overview of sources cited, or referred to in Niketas' orations can help to reconstruct the library of a metropolitan with canonical expertise.⁵⁰⁷ Niketas cited, or referred to the Bible many times, it is one of his most important points of reference. The Old Testament (attested 30 times) is overmatched by passages from the New Testament (41 times). With regard to sources of secular law, Niketas dealt with Justinianic legislation altogether 20 times from which Justinian's *Novels* take the lead (11 citations), after which come the *Codex Iustinianus* (5 times) and the *Digests* (4). By contrast, in Niketas' treatises, Macedonian legislation occurs more, 21 references to the *Basilics* and one to the *Epanagoge* is attested. The metropolitan used stipulations decreed by local synods (9 references) and also by ecumenical councils (30 times). Furthermore, canons by the church fathers are also attested (twice Basil the Great and once Cyril of Alexandria). Patriarchal legislation was also important for Niketas of Ankyra. He referred to patriarchal documents by Gennadios I (r. 458–471, once), Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907, 912–925; 5 times), Sisinnios II (r. 996–998; once). Eleventh-century patriarchal decrees are also attested, such as that of Alexios III Stoudites (r. 1025–1043; 3 times), Michael Keroularios (r. 1043–1058, once), and John VIII Xiphilinos (r. 1064–1075, once). Niketas used

⁵⁰⁵ For Niketas of Ankyra, see ODB 3 1481 s. v. 'Niketas of Ankyra'; Angold, *Church and Society*, 54–57; Dar. Doc. 37–53. Despite the fact that A. Kazhdan debated J. Darrouzès' identification of the anonymous author of the five treatises with Niketas of Ankyra (see A. Kazhdan, 'Аннотация: J. Darrouzès. Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine / «Archives de l'Orient chrétien», t. 10. Paris, 1966, 442 p.', VV 30 (1969), 281–284, at p. 283), I find Darrouzès' arguments convincing.

⁵⁰⁶ These are the *On Ordinations*, *On Synods*, *On the Elections*, and *On the Right of Resignation*. The works *On Ordination* and *On the Elections* show Niketas' reaction to imperial intervention in episcopal appointments. The oration *On Synods* argued for the metropolitans' right to have their local synods in the capital. The last work was produced when Niketas handed in an entreaty to the permanent episcopal synod upon his resignation at the end of the controversy.

⁵⁰⁷ This overview is based on Jean Darrouzès' research, see Dar. Doc. p. 415–425. The citations mentioned are literal quotations, or references.

canonical collections, such as the *Synagoge of Fifty Titles* (5 times) and the *Nomokanones of Fourteen Titles* by Photios (5 references). Niketas used the *Apostolic Canons*, as well (3 times attested). The writings of church fathers also appear from the fourth until the ninth century (all in all 13 references), among whom Gregory of Nazianzos is the most quoted author (7 attestations). In sum, the Bible, synodal decrees, *nomoi*, patriarchal documents, and writings of patristic authors constituted those sources on which Niketas of Ankyra's contentions were based.

In addition to Niketas of Ankyra's works, a short treatise by Ioannes Zonaras also helps to assess the legal quality of Leo's *Apology*. Zonaras' tract is entitled *On the Prohibition of the Marriage of Two Cousins Related in the Sixth Degree to the Same Woman*.⁵⁰⁸ This work discusses details of a canonical problem, namely whether it is prohibited for a woman to get married for the second time to another man who is related to the first husband on the sixth degree from the mother's side. Zonaras listed the arguments which are in favour of such a union, after that he gave a detailed exposition of the party which did not support such a marriage. Zonaras demonstrated that not only the *kanones*, but also *nomoi* prohibited to confirm such a relationship. The treatise is difficult to date, it was presumably written before 1166.⁵⁰⁹ According to the title of the tract, Zonaras was writing on behalf of high-ranking churchmen (ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀρχιερέων), probably bishops.⁵¹⁰ Konstantinos Pitsakes contended that Zonaras had been asked to justify a collective vote of priests for the sake of a specific case in court. Moreover, the tract addressed members of a mixed kind of court.⁵¹¹ If it is so, the context and the genre of the oration are comparable to those of the *Apology*.

John Zonaras was a renowned legal expert of the mid-twelfth century, his commentaries also served as a basis for Theodore Balsamon's legal oeuvre writing in the 1180s.⁵¹² Zonaras' *Prohibition* is a relatively short treatise, about half of the length of the *Apology*, and ten times shorter than Niketas' orations. The canonical expert used the Bible as a frame to demonstrate God's warning against the unrighteous (Ezek 3:19).⁵¹³ In addition to this, he referred to *Gen* 2:24, one of the basic sections regarding Christian marriage, and two other passages (*Mt* 19:5, *Lev* 18:5). Besides these excerpts, only *kanones* and *nomoi* are cited. Zonaras used only the *Basilics* (5 references) as inventory of secular law. Among the *kanones*, the reader finds Canon 19 from the *Apostolic Canons* and *Letter* 197 of Basil the

⁵⁰⁸ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δύο δισηξαδέλφους τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:592–597; T. Kampianaki, *Ioannes Zonaras' Epitome of Histories (12th Cent.): A Compendium of Jewish-Roman History and Its Readers*, Doctoral Diss. (Oxford, 2017), 24–25; Angold, *Church and Society*, 412–413; E. Kaltsogianni, *Τὰ αἰθολογικά ἔργα τοῦ Ἰωάννη Ζωναρά*, Doctoral Diss. (Thessalonike, 2008), 26–27; K. Pitsakis, *Τὸ κώλυμα γάμου λόγω συγγενείας ἑβδόμου βαθμοῦ ἐξ αἵματος στὸ Βυζαντινὸ Δίκαιο* (Athens, 1985), 227–231 and 291–294.

⁵⁰⁹ Angold, *Church and Society*, 412–413; Pitsakis, *Τὸ κώλυμα γάμου*, 227.

⁵¹⁰ Kampianaki, *Epitome*, 25.

⁵¹¹ Pitsakis, *Τὸ κώλυμα γάμου*, 291.

⁵¹² Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 177–178.

⁵¹³ Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4: 592 l.1–16 and 597 l. 19.

Great. Thus, in the *Prohibition* Ioannes Zonaras applied a smaller plethora of sources which were chosen from a less wider spectrum, compared to the orations of Niketas of Ankyra.

The *Apology* of Leo of Chalcedon stands in the middle between Niketas' orations and Zonaras' treatise, if the sources used are considered. As it is clear from the *Index locorum*, the Bible was the most important source of authority for Leo. This corresponds to the approach, selected by Niketas of Ankyra and Ioannes Zonaras. Leo of Chalcedon did not cite, but referred to the Justinianic legislation concerning the alienation of sacred objects. The prelate did not take into consideration the *Basilics* and other inventories. The reason for this is that it was the only secular legal assessment concerning the question. In this respect, the *Apology* is similar to Zonaras' *Prohibition*, because 3 out of Zonaras' 5 quotations from the *Basilics* were taken from the same subchapter, focusing on stipulations concerning marriage (4.28.5). Leo used the *canon* of Cyril to refute the Justinianic stipulations. Moreover, the prelate based his argumentation on the canon of a local and twice on canons of ecumenical synods. What is more, Leo used a papal letter, too. Finally, Leo cited Gregory of Nazianzos four times, and Theodore the Stoudite twice (one reference and one quote).

Consequently, it can be concluded that Leo used sources from a relatively wide spectrum: only the patriarchal documents and canonical inventories are missing compared to Niketas of Ankyra's orations. Moreover, as the comparison with Ioannes Zonaras' *Prohibition* proves, the sources applied were fitting to the topic and length of the *Apology*.

1.5.2. LEGAL METHODOLOGY

A debating canonist not only had to argue on a proper basis, using precisely some parts of the material. The 'ready wit', emphasised in the case of Theodore of Smyrna in the *Timarion*, meant to apply a fitting legal methodology, thus, it was not only important what Leo was using, but also the way in which he was doing so. This is examined in the following section.

1.5.2.1. THE PROPER STATUS

First, it has to be emphasised that the mere fact that Leo had identified the proper *status* for his case attests his juristic expertise. During the eleventh century, the teaching of secular law was part of the general curriculum of the period.⁵¹⁴ One of the primary and most demanding tasks of the Byzantine jurists was to find the appropriate category of the lawsuit they filed as plaintiffs.⁵¹⁵ First, the type of the action must be found (Gr. *agoge*, Lat. *actio*). Afterwards, the plaintiff had to bring forward the case according to the corresponding obligation(s) (Gr. *enochē*, Lat. *obligatio*). In the

⁵¹⁴ Most recently, see Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 150–183 with the discussion of previous views in scholarship.

⁵¹⁵ Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 180.

middle Byzantine period, the actions and obligations were still named in Latin (though, transcribed in Greek). The Byzantine students of Roman law ran into difficulties with memorising and finding the those *obligatio(nes)* that matched the *actio*. A number of treatises on the topic were written for the help of the pupils.⁵¹⁶ The *Apology* testifies that Leo of Chalcedon successfully identified the obligations. Leo identified that the *status finitionis* was proper for him as a plaintiff and, since the crime could not be denied, but should have been specified, Leo proceeded to syllogisms to classify and describe the alienation of church property.

1.5.2.2. A GREEK TEMPLE

The first evidence which Leo of Chalcedon cited after the proem to bolster his argumentation was drawn from Greek Antiquity. The metropolitan illustrated the historical background of imperial and ecclesiastical legislation on the violation of the sacred.⁵¹⁷ Leo referred to the body of classical Greek customs, or common law, incumbent to all Greeks, the *nomos hellenikos*. According to that, for instance, for those who fell in a battle, the burial must have been guaranteed.⁵¹⁸ With respect to sanctuaries and temples, also the parcel of land in which the sacred building lay, was considered holy. As Pausanias testified, despite the poor state of the sanctuary and the absence of the cult statue, the sacrifice was performed at Nemea in the second century AD.⁵¹⁹ Similarly in Late Antique Corinth, the Asklepeion collapsed at the end of the fourth century and soon afterwards the building material started to be mined for reuse. Nonetheless, the pagan ritual activity continued until the sixth century, too.⁵²⁰ Therefore, the place of a sanctuary did not lose its sacral character, after the building became ruinous. In Leo's argumentation, a *synkrisis* with Christian churches follows as part of a *gradatio* towards the inner parts of the churches. The metropolitan aimed at demonstrating that the

⁵¹⁶ Edited in R. Meijering, 'Ρωμαϊκαὶ ἀγωγαί. Two Byzantine Treatises on Legal Actions', *Fontes Minores* 8, (1990), 1–152, and M. Th. Fögen, 'Byzantinische Kommentare zu römischen Aktionen', *Fontes Minores* 8 (1990), 215–248; Michael Psellos, *Synopsis legum*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* (Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1992), p. 127 l. 96, 128 l. 124; Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 180.

⁵¹⁷ *Apol.* 17–24. For a similar argumentation about the *res sacrae* status of churches, monasteries, and venerable houses, see Michael Attaleiates, *Legal Textbook*, ed. L. Sigoutas, *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. I. and P. Zepos, 8 vols (Aalen 1962) 7, p. 409–497, at p. 420; Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 185; and see also B. H. Stolte, 'Law for Founders', in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast, 2007), 126–127.

⁵¹⁸ See f. i. Euripides, *Suppliants*, 650–744, where the conflict is recorded between the Athenians and the Thebans on the burial of the 'seven Argives'. On the topic, see D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth-Century B. C. (Athens, Milton Keynes, 1992)*, 66–67; On sacral, and non-sacral *nomoi*: J. Rasmus Brandt, Jon W. Iddeng (ed.), *Greeks and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning and Practice* (Oxford, 2014), 43, 241–242.

⁵¹⁹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.15.2–3.

⁵²⁰ See R. M. Rothaus, *Corinth, the First City of Greece: An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2000), 47.

holy vessels and the icons, as parts of the sanctuary, were even more sacred than the external parts of church.

Leo drew this argument from the armoury of the imperial family. When Isaac Komnenos entered the Hagia Sophia and argued for the secular use of church property, he based his claim on the legislation of Justinian I.⁵²¹ Leo was aware of the content of the passage, but not only of the sentences which were applied by Alexios and his entourage. The section, which comes afterwards and which Leo might have known in a Greek paraphrase, claims: 'The place, however, where sacred edifices are built, remains holy even if the building collapsed'.⁵²² The late antique imperial legislation mirrors the classical Greek idea on the sacred nature of the place where a pagan sanctuary lay. However, Leo did not refer to Justinian I's *nomos*, but its antique predecessor. This, on the one hand, sheds light on Leo of Chalcedon's knowledge about Greek antiquity which he could have acquired during his general education, or at least indicates the prelate's willingness to include an argument from classical antiquity into his demonstration. On the other hand, Leo, as a churchman, used the antique institutions as part of the Greek *θύραθὲν παιδεία*, external from the aspect of Christian Byzantine culture. In other words, the pagan Greeks were aware of the fact that even the place of a sanctuary was sacred. By contrast, Alexios I, a Christian emperor, violated the innermost parts of Christian churches. In Leo's eye, as the *synkrisis* suggests, it was worse than paganism.

1.5.2.3. CHRONOLOGY AS THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ORATION

Launching the oration with a clear reference to pagan Antiquity was not only a tool to emphasise the antagonism between paganism, idolatry and orthodoxy, and thus to denigrate Alexios I. It was the starting point for the chronology of Leo's *Apology*. The history of Christianity, starting with Jewish history, gives the framework for the prelate's oration. After mentioning the *nomos hellenikos*, Leo reached Christianity by means of the *synkrisis* with the *klimax*: Christian churches and sacraments are the most sacred things. After that, the metropolitan discussed the Old Testament *exempla* of Oza and Achar who touched the sacred and died. Leo started his examination of the alienation of the sacred things from Jewish history and ended up in his time. As the overview of the *Apology* testifies, the prelate analysed other testimonies from the Old Testament, then reached late antique, Justinianic legislation which was followed by canonical examples. The age of Iconoclasm gave the springboard to discuss the relationship of icon-veneration to Alexios' confiscation.⁵²³ Leo's

⁵²¹ *Al.* 5.2.

⁵²² Justinian, *Institutes*, 2.1.9, *CIC* I. p. 10: Locus autem, in quo sacrae aedes aedificatae sunt, etiam diruto aedificio adhuc sacer manet.

⁵²³ The chronological series of authorities cited is disturbed only twice: Theodore the Stoudite's theory of icons (*Apol.* 114–122) is followed by the *Tomos* of Leo I (*Apol.* 122–125, pertaining to the year 451); however, it is an embedded argument to support Theodore's ideas. The second instance is the long quote from the

demonstration ended with accusing Alexios with avarice on the basis of Saint Paul's teaching. The chronological framework of the *Apologos* shows Leo's awareness of a historical approach to a canonical problem.⁵²⁴ As the example of John Zonaras' *Epitome historion* also demonstrates, people with legal expertise viewed the Byzantine Empire through the lenses of legal institutions of the past.⁵²⁵ Zonaras' ideal of society is very much republican, mirroring institutions of the Roman Republic, already governed by emperors. Furthermore, as Niketas of Ankyra's example demonstrates, leading members of the church which Alexios I inherited were thinking about themselves as an advisory board of the emperor and were accustomed to a rather constitutional monarchy.⁵²⁶ Leo of Chalcedon was member of this episcopal bench and supported this ideal which was based on the awareness of the republican, Roman past of Byzantium. Conversely, it also must be taken into consideration that emperor Alexios, who was sitting in front of Leo and listened to his words, thought about his reign as the summit of Salvation history.⁵²⁷ Therefore, applying the history

decrees of the Second Council of Nicea (787) which closes the topic of icon veneration decently, nonetheless, predates Theodore the Stoudite and Nikephoros I with a century.

⁵²⁴ A parallel example of his is that of Theophylaktos, the archbishop of Ohrid (r. ca. 1089–after 1126) who composed a tract on eunuchism ca. 1105 (Theophylaktos of Ohrid, *Apology of Eunuchism*, ed. P. Gautier, *Apologie de l'eunuchisme, Theophylacti Achridentis Opera* (Thessalonike, 1980), 287–331). The treatise (λόγος) is a fictitious dialogue between an anonymous accuser and a eunuch. The former brings his charges against the castrates according to a chronological order: Old Testament, Apostolic Canons, the teaching of the Fathers, the stipulations of the Justinianic corpus, and finally, moral remarks (the eunuchs are inclined to various vices) (*ibidem* 294–331). The eunuch replied following these arguments in a corresponding order, however, in greater detail (*ibidem* 293–295).

⁵²⁵ See also R. Macrides, 'Perceptions of the Past in the Twelfth-Century Canonists', *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12 αἰώνα: κανονικό δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 589–599.

⁵²⁶ See *Dar. Doc.* 214 l.21–24; *ODB* 3 1481 s. v. 'Niketas of Ankyra'.

⁵²⁷ There are traces in Ioannes Zonaras' *Epitome* that Alexios considered himself the last Roman emperor of apocalyptic legend (*Zon.* 3: 760; Magdalino, 'The Reform edict of 1107', 203; A. Kraft, *The Apocalyptic Horizon in Byzantium: Philosophy, Prophecy, and Politics during the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries*, PhD Diss. (Budapest, 2018), 126–139). The other surviving sources, such as the *Mousai* of Alexios Komnenos (P. Maas, 'Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I.', *BZ* 22 (1913), 348–359, at 354–355 l. 210–238), tell about the Day of Judgement in very general terms, likewise Nikolaos Kallikles' description of a mural painting which could have been decorated one of the buildings in the Blachernai, or in the Great Palace (P. Magdalino, R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *BF* 8 (1982), 124–125). The passage in Zonaras' *Epitome* documents the prophecy of soothsayer monks who forecasted Alexios' reign as the last among the Roman emperors and that he would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and lay down his imperial crown there. This prediction could have been a version of the seventh-century eschatological prophecy of Pseudo-Methodios (an overview of the topic: P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985); the most recent treatment of the Greek version: B. Garstad, *Apocalypse. Pseudo-Methodius* (Harvard, London, 2012) 2–73). The different versions in accord with each other in the main points that preceding the final battle, and Christ's victory over the Antichrist, the last Roman emperor, a human leader, establishes the state of peace. In the last days of Christendom, the last emperor conquers the pagans and converts the Jews. When the Antichrist and his armies initiate their attack, the last emperor surrenders his crown in Jerusalem and awaits for Christ's help. Zonaras' *Epitome* pointed to the element of the deposition of the crown. What is more, a look at the holy man, Cyril Phileotes' advice to Alexios shows parallels with the last Roman emperor's Christianising activity (f.i.: Nikolaos Kataskepenos, *Life of Cyril Phileotes*, ed. É. Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Phileote moine byzantin (†1110)* (Brussels, 1964), 230.5–13). When the ascetic focused on the issue of final judgement, he gave a very clear programme of apostolic mission to pursue for the *basileus*.

of salvation as chronology was presumably the choice of a bishop who knew elements of the contemporary political discourse.

1.5.2.4. A LEGAL LOOPHOLE: THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN *NOMOS* AND *KANON*

Leo was eager to demonstrate that Alexios' confiscation of church treasures cannot be verified on a legal basis. The metropolitan used a legal loophole, that is, the discrepancy between *nomos* and *kanon*, concerning the alienation of church valuables, to support his argumentation. This difference is not attested in other contemporary documents of the controversy, apart from Leo's *Apologos*. Anna Komnene in the *Alexiad* emphasised only the Justinianic stipulation which had allowed church valuables to be used for secular purposes.⁵²⁸ Leo of Chalcedon, however, referred to the canon of Cyril.⁵²⁹ The passage has two implications. The prelate used, on the one hand, the legal principle *lex posterior abrogat legi priori*. Leo quoted *verbatim* canon 2 of Cyril, the Alexandrian patriarch (r. 412–444).⁵³⁰ It is interesting that in Leo's view the canon which can be linked to the fifth-century church father, dates after the *Novels* of Justinian, issued clearly in the sixth century. In this respect, Leo followed the Eastern canonical thought. As it has been observed in scholarship, the canons of the 'church fathers' which were collected from their different writings, mostly letters, were considered as pieces of advice, or additions which strengthened the legal force of the synodical canons.⁵³¹ It was a longer procedure while the pieces of advice deriving from such fathers as Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzos, or Theophilos of Alexandria, became in fact the canons of the church. The first reference to the list of the canons of the fathers dates to the end of the seventh-century. As Pericles Joannou contended, the final list and sequence of the 'patristic canons' has been established by the twelfth century.⁵³²

Leo, however, referred to the debate which was ongoing also during the Komnenian period: the relationship of *nomos* and *kanon*, in other words which of the two prevailed over the other.⁵³³ In theory, Justinian's *Novel 131* declared that the canons had ranked as laws, in case of conflict, even above the law.⁵³⁴ Unlike other similar legislations, it has been included into the *Basilics* which gave

⁵²⁸ *Al.* 5.2.2.

⁵²⁹ *Apol.* 63–66, cited above in full p. 88.

⁵³⁰ On Cyril of Alexandria, see Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 109–111.

⁵³¹ Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 84–89.

⁵³² *CPG, Introduction*, xv–xvi.

⁵³³ See H. G. Beck, *Nomos, Kanon und Staatsraison in Byzanz* (Vienna, 1981); R. Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on Paper and Court', *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1990), 61–87; B. H. Stolte, 'Civil Law in Canon Law: A Note on the Method of Interpreting the Canons in the Twelfth Century', *Tò Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12 αἰώνα* *κανονικό δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 543–555; P. Perentidis, 'Un canon peut-il être périmé? Mentalités et autorité du text canonique au XIIe siècle', *Tò Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12 αἰώνα* *κανονικό δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 141–149.

⁵³⁴ For the reading of the *Novel 131* as the imperial means to modify, or set aside canons, see: A. P. Christophilopoulos, 'Η σχέσις τῶν κανόνων πρὸς τοὺς νόμους καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος Βαλσαμών', *EEBS* 21 (1951),

some kind of authority to the stipulation. Churchmen seem to take it granted and obvious, while the imperial side was looking for legal loopholes and exceptions.⁵³⁵ Leo of Chalcedon represented the opinion of the church in this passage of the *Apology*. Leo's strictly canonistic arguments from l. 33 to 63 provided parallel evidence to the claim that church valuables cannot be alienated which are confirmed by canon 21 of the Council of Laodikeia and canon 69 of the Council of Trullo.

1.5.2.5. PENAL PROVISIONS: ICON THEOLOGY AND AVARICE

Leo started the section of the *Apologos* on icon theology with fiercely threatening the emperor: 'In fact, those who say, 'Now, we fall down and worship the holy icons and the sacred holy things', we greet, [those who say,] 'We alienate them', we even depose'.⁵³⁶ In this passage, Leo remained between the defined norms of the canonical system, proposing a penalty.⁵³⁷ Since the earliest examples of canonical writing, the most basic legal structure, even on the level of grammar, is to define a condition: εἰ or ἐάν, then comes the condition, or a subject, which is followed by the penal formula, such as καθαιρεῖσθω; ἀνέθεμα ἔστω. The most basic three sanctions are: excommunication (for laity), or suspension (for clerics), usually called ἀφορισμός; deposition for clergy, generally termed καθαίρεσις; and permanent public damnation which is more varied in its terminology, but conveyed with ἀνέθεμα, ἀπορίπτω, ἀποβάλλω. Proposing deposition (καταλύω/κατάλυσις) for Alexios I follows the pattern of the second category.

After that, the prelate continued his oration with providing further penalties for the emperor: he dedicated a section to pseudoprophecy. First, Leo quoted Mt 7: 21–27 where Christ is portrayed on the day of the last judgement expelling false prophets from his kingdom. Afterwards the unit continued on with Nikephoros I's example who refuted the 'dunk-named' whom the audience probably equated with the iconoclast emperor Constantine V. Following this excursus, the metropolitan developed the strange argumentation that venerating an icon means to venerate its

69–73; Sp. Troianos, 'Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, τάξιν νόμων ἐπέχειν τοὺς ἁγίους κανόνας...', *Byzantina* 13 (1985), [Δώρημα στὸν Ι. Καραγιαννόπουλο], 1191–1200; Stolte, 'Civil Law in Canon Law', 545.

⁵³⁵ See the increased interest in the *Nomokanones*. It is well-known that the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* has been reworked around 1089/1090 by Theodore Vestes. As Vestes' third prologue testifies, he was commissioned by the *sebastos* Michael, who held the office of the *logothete of the sekreta* at that time, see Magdalino, 'Innovations in Government', 154; *idem*, 'Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries', *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, ed. A. E. Laiou, D. Simon (Washington D. C., 1994), 110. Alexios I also commissioned the *synodos endemousa* in his Reform Edict (dated to 1092, or 1107) with the examination of the *Nomokanones*: P. Gautier, 'L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé', *REB* 31 (1973), 197 l. 282–287.

⁵³⁶ *Apol.* 80–82.

⁵³⁷ Wagschal, *Law and Legality*, 170–172; On Byzantine canonical penal law, see in particular P. Panagiotakos, *Σύστημα τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δικαίου: τὸ ποινικὸν δίκαιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1962); C. Rhalles, *Ποινικὸν Δίκαιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1907).

prototype on the basis of their identical *hypostasis*.⁵³⁸ Leo based this view on the icon theory of Theodore the Stoudite and stipulations from the *Tomus Leontis*.⁵³⁹ He reached the conclusion that the destruction of an icon disclosed the awareness of the presence of the divine *hypostasis* in the icon. As a consequence, those who ordered the destruction of icons had considered the pictured images as simple matter. This, implicitly, suggested that they do not venerate the icons.⁵⁴⁰ As a closure, Leo quoted the entire passage from the acts of the Second Council of Nikaia decreeing that the icons were to be venerated. The metropolitan, therefore, proposed very daringly the deposition of the emperor. Furthermore, the prelate also insinuated the charge against Alexios I that he was going to be condemned because of the destruction of church objects and holy icons on the day of the last judgement. Last, the *basileus* was portrayed, again tacitly, as the antichrist (οὗτος ἐστὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος).⁵⁴¹

What is more, the metropolitan closed the oration with the claim that Alexios I was culpable of avarice.⁵⁴² The prelate quoted a plethora of passages from Saint Paul's letters. The sections revolve around vices and the subsequent penalties. The metropolitan contended that a person who was a worshipper of idols would be excluded from the church and would not partake in the forthcoming kingdom of Christ. In addition to this, if somebody allowed others to commit sacrilege, then that person should be anathematised: 'If one teaches you something that is not in accord with the teaching you had, even if he is a heavenly angel, be anathematised (ἀνάθεμα ἔστω)'.⁵⁴³ In the latter passage, Leo slightly modified Saint Paul's words (*Gal. 1:9*).⁵⁴⁴ The prelate transformed the sentence which exactly mirrored the most basic penal formulas of the church and clearly closed the way of rescue for the *basileus*. Alexios I gave his consent to the confiscation of church treasures and objects, therefore, deserves death.

Both charges which Leo of Chalcedon voiced, occurred in the broader context of Alexios' reign. The topic of the veneration of icons pertained to the Byzantine phenomenon as 'the most basic touchstone of conformity to cultural norms'⁵⁴⁵ and, thus, any shortcomings related to the cult of icons were used in the political discourse to denigrate the (alleged) culprit. The closest evidence to

⁵³⁸ In the *Apology*, Leo did not explain his icon theory in detail, in other words, the prelate's theological arguments here are sketchy. However, Leo expounded his tenets later in his *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ* and in his correspondence. Since only the latter survived, in the next subchapter, Leo's ideas are surveyed on the basis of his letters.

⁵³⁹ I will return to Theodore the Stoudite's *Letter 57* in the next subchapter.

⁵⁴⁰ *Apol.* 125–133.

⁵⁴¹ *Apol.* 123.

⁵⁴² *Apol.* 157–200.

⁵⁴³ *Apol.* 187–188.

⁵⁴⁴ As we have said and now I repeat: if one teaches you differently from that you had been taught, be anathematised. ὡς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

⁵⁴⁵ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 316.

the *Apologos* is the case of John Italos. One of the accusations which was brought against the philosopher was that he referred ‘worship’, rather than ‘reverence’ for the icon of Christ.⁵⁴⁶

Avarice was the watchword for those who criticised Alexios’ ‘family government’.⁵⁴⁷ Leo’s oration is one of the earliest surviving expressions of the view that the emperor used means at his disposal according to his own will, transgressing the accepted norms and favouring his relatives and confidants. It is clear from the analysis of John the Oxite’s orations from 1091,⁵⁴⁸ and John Zonaras’ twelfth-century contention in his *Epitome*⁵⁴⁹ that Alexios I seemed to them a *despotes*.

1.5.2.6. VEILED KAISERKRITIK: THE FIGURES OF NABOUZARDAN AND BALTASAR

Leo himself contended in the proem that he had accused not the people who ordered the alienation, but the misdeed itself. Nonetheless, the metropolitan, as I have just discussed, insinuated that the emperor can be compared to the antichrist for destroying icons; furthermore, he had been avaricious, too. In addition to this, as I believe, Leo applied Old Testament examples to emphasise Alexios’ impiety.

I present a case study on a passage where Leo paraphrased a sentence from an oration of Gregory Nazianzos. The passage is part of the unit which highlights that sacred things cannot be alienated from churches (*Apol.* 33–80). Leo stressed this principle with a set of Old Testament examples. One of them is the following:

And also in his oration *Against the Arians* [the Theologian exclaimed]: ‘The sacred objects were taken from the holy churches without discrimination.⁵⁵⁰ Was this me who gave them into the hands of unrighteous people, to Nabouzardon, the high court-official, or to Baltasar who lived luxuriously using the sacred things and paid the price of his madness in a due manner? The altars which are venerated with love, now treated with disrespect, as the Scripture says’.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀρειανούς αὐτοῦ 20 λόγῳ· «ἀδιαφόρως ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἀφαιρούμενα τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ χερσὶν ἀνόμων ἐξέδωκα, ἢ Ναβουζαρδὸν τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ, ἢ

⁵⁴⁶ Gouillard, ‘Le procès officiel de Jean l’Italien’, 153–155; see also Carr, ‘Leo of Chalcedon’, 579–580.

⁵⁴⁷ On *Kaiserkritik*, see P. Frankopan, ‘Where Advice Meets Criticism in 11th Century Byzantium: Theophylact of Ochrid, John the Oxite and Their (Re)presentations to the Emperor’, *Al-Masaq*, 20 (2008), 71–88; and P. Magdalino, ‘Aspects of Twelfth-Century Kaiserkritik’, *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 326–346, esp. p. 330–333 about Zonaras’ opinion; see also M. Mullett, ‘How to Criticise the *laudandus*?’, *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the 43rd Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*. University of Birmingham, March 2010., ed. D. Angelov, M. Saxby (Farnham, 2013), 247–262. The most recent contribution to the evaluation of the ‘family government’ during the reign of Alexios: Frankopan, ‘Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family’.

⁵⁴⁸ Gautier, ‘Diatribes’, 41 l.18–20.

⁵⁴⁹ *Zon.* 3:766–767.

⁵⁵⁰ I.e. without recognising their sacred nature.

Βαλτάσαρ⁵⁵¹ τῷ κακῷ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τρυφήσαντι καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίκας εἰσπραχθέντι τῆς ἀπονοίας ἄξιας; Θυσιαστήρια δὲ 25 ἡγαπημένα, νῦν δὲ καθυβρισμένα, ὡς φησὶ ἡ γραφή⁵⁵²».

Leo slightly modified Gregory's first sentence. Gregory's question had implied that the holy objects could not have been touched by the common people:

What kind of liturgical vessels which are not to be touched by the common people, did I give into unrighteous hands: to Nabouzardon, the high court-official, or to Baltasar who lived luxuriously using the sacred things and paid the price of his madness in a due manner?

Ποῖα λειτουργικὰ σκεύη, καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄψαυστα, χερσὶν ἀνόμων ἐξέδωκα, ἢ Ναβουζαρδάν τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ, ἢ Βαλτάσαρ τῷ κακῷ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τρυφήσαντι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίκας εἰσπραχθέντι τῆς ἀπονοίας ἄξιας;⁵⁵³

Leo's version focused on Alexios' confiscation: 'the sacred objects were taken from the holy churches'. Gregory denoted ἀνόμοι, 'unrighteous' those who touched, illicitly, the divine vessels. Leo took over this wording to call those who ordered the alienation as 'unrighteous'. This phrase, undoubtedly regarding Alexios I, occurred at a later stage of the controversy, in the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon*.⁵⁵⁴

Nabouzardan and Baltasar were Babylonian figures. The first was the head of Nebuchadnezzar's retinue and destroyed Jerusalem setting fire to the Temple of Solomon in 586 BC.⁵⁵⁵ The second was the King of Babylon (r. 550–539 BC.) who held a feast in which his guests had to drink from the holy vessels of Jerusalem which had been taken as a booty to Babylon.⁵⁵⁶ Both were Biblical *typoi* for impiety and sacrilege, similar to Nabuchadnezzar.⁵⁵⁷

The passage which Leo quoted from Gregory fits very well to the context of alienation. Two figures are mentioned: the head of a ruler's retinue and a sacrilegious ruler. Taken into account that during the Komnenian Iconoclast Controversy two members of the imperial family were protagonists: Isaac, the *sebastokrator*, Alexios' brother, confidant, and 'religious expert', and Alexios I the *basileus*, the targets of Leo's critique were, probably, quite clear. The modern reader may first have the

⁵⁵¹ *Dan.* 5:1–31.

⁵⁵² *Reg.* 25:11.

⁵⁵³ Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oration 33 (Contra Arianos et de seipso)*, ed. Cl. Moreschini, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours* 32–37 (Paris, 1985), p. 160.3 l.10–12

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. *Thom. Somn.* 404; *Ep. Alex.* 403.

⁵⁵⁵ *EJ* 15 52 s. v. 'Nebuzaradan'.

⁵⁵⁶ *EJ* 3 306–307 s. v. 'Belshazzar'.

⁵⁵⁷ C. Rapp, 'Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium', 201.

impression that this is the application of *typoi*, originating from the Bible. Even those figures as *typoi* perfectly match the context in which Leo delivered the oration. However, the circumstances in which Gregory's original talk was delivered, was similar in many respects to those around Leo.

Gregory of Nazianzos' *Or.* 33 was delivered after the Easter of 379, or in late February 380 in the middle of the Arianist crisis.⁵⁵⁸ Emperor Valens (r. 364–378) who was follower of the teaching of Arius, died in the battle at Hadrianople. Nevertheless, his successor Theodosios I (379–395) has not yet entered Constantinople⁵⁵⁹ where the authorities were pursuing pro-Arianist policy. Gregory arrived in the capital and became the head of the party supporting Nicene orthodoxy. As Gregory's *Letter* 77 proves, he was the target of fierce accusations from the Arianist party which he replied with *Oration* 33. Gregory used Biblical imagery to compare the Arianist and orthodox rulers: 'Contrast [...] you your ruler and me mine: you Achab, me Iosia. ἀντιθῶμεν [...] σύ τὸν σὸν βασιλέα καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐμούς· σύ τὸν Ἀχαάβ, ἐγὼ τὸν Ἰωσάβ.'⁵⁶⁰ Achab is the paradigm of idolatry who married Jezebel, the daughter of the Sidonian king, and favoured the cult of Baal.⁵⁶¹ Here, undoubtedly, he stands for Valens. By contrast, Iosia was the example of the righteous king.⁵⁶² In *Or.* 33, it is found in the plural, referring to Theodosios I and to Gratian, the Western ruler.⁵⁶³ Among other things, Gregory accused his adversaries with allowing 'unrighteous hands' to touch the holy vessels by which the sacraments were administered.

The unrighteous people were not nominated, instead Gregory continued the use Biblical imagery and applied the figures Baltasar and Nabouzardan. Claudio Moreschini, the editor of *Or.* 33, hypothesised that Baltasar had been identical with Emperor Valens, while Nabouzardan with Demosthenes.⁵⁶⁴ The latter was the imperial cook and Valens' favourite. An anecdote is preserved about him in which Demosthenes appeared as a religious expert.⁵⁶⁵ In 371, emperor Valens was travelling to Antioch with his retinue crossing Kaisareia. Basil the Great, the bishop of the city was the follower of the Nicene creed, thus the dispute with the ruler was inevitable. Demosthenes interrupted the dialogue between Basil and the ruler and besmirched the bishop for his method in Biblical exegesis. Basil sent the 'illiterate Demosthenes' back to the kitchen. In sum, Gregory used the figures of Baltasar and Nabouzardan to refer to and blacken Valens, the heterodox ruler, and Demosthenes, his confidant adviser.

⁵⁵⁸ *Or.* 33, ed. Moreschini, 20–28.

⁵⁵⁹ Which happened in November 380.

⁵⁶⁰ *Or.* 33, ed. Moreschini, p. 158.2 l. 15–17.

⁵⁶¹ Alan J. Avery-Peck, 'Idolatry in Judaism', *EJ* consulted online on 25 Jan 2018 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1872-9029_EJ_COM_0080]

⁵⁶² 4 Kg 22:2.

⁵⁶³ As suggested also by Moreschini, *Or.* 33, p. 160. fn. 2.

⁵⁶⁴ *Or.* 33, ed. Moreschini, p. 162, fn. 1 and p. 163, fn. 2.

⁵⁶⁵ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Church History*, ed. L. Parmentier, *Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1998³), 4.19, p. 45.

Did eleventh-century Byzantine readers know the historical context of Gregory's orations? Gregory of Nazianzos was a highly popular author in eleventh-century Byzantium.⁵⁶⁶ His orations survived in 409 copies from that century, surpassing the number of copied manuscripts from the tenth and the twelfth centuries. Gregory was primarily read as a divinely inspired writer, the mediator of the ineffable God. However, during the eleventh century, a novel interest was kindled in the more secular content of his orations. Not only were the text of the Theologian's orations were, but the scribes also preserved earlier commentaries and notes in the form of marginalia.⁵⁶⁷ The historical context of Gregory's orations was quite clearly illustrated in some of these notes. With respect to *Or. 33*, in the manuscript *Vind. theol. graec.* 126. f. 225r the following marginal note stands:

This oration was delivered during [the rule] of Theodosios the Great, after the death of Valentinian and Valens who were the emperors of the Arianist party.

Οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐλέχθη ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν Ἀρειανῶν βασιλέων.⁵⁶⁸

In another eleventh-century scholion to *Or. 25* in *Vind. theol. graec.* 74. f. 178, a list of Arianist or heterodox rulers is given.⁵⁶⁹ Other marginalia which were published in PG 36 concern the passage of *Or. 33*. under discussion. The scholia indicate that under the guise of Achab Gregory 'understands Valens. Οὐαλέντα λέγει', and with Iosia 'he says Theodosios the Great, I assume. Θεοδόσιον τὸν Μέγαν οἶμαι λέγειν'.⁵⁷⁰ Moreschini, the editor of *Or. 33*. referred to another note in the PG which says that Baltasar should also be understood as Valens.⁵⁷¹ However, I could not identify if these scholia are from the eleventh century, due to the editorial practice of the PG series. Therefore, some

⁵⁶⁶ See Papaioannou, *Psellos*, 56–63 with a detailed bibliography.

⁵⁶⁷ Some samples from the manuscripts with marginal notes from the eleventh-century: *Vind. theol. graec.* 12; *Vind. theol. graec.* 27; *Vind. theol. graec.* 74, see P. A. Bruckmayr, *Untersuchungen über die Randscholien der 28 Reden des hl. Gregorius von Nazianz im Cod. Theol. Gr. 74 der Wiener Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1940); J. Nimmo Smith, 'A Revised List of the Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentaries on Four Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus', *Byz* 57 (1987), 109; *Vind. theol. graec.* 126, Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 9 (02); Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 10, see J. Nimmo Smith, 'A Revised List', 102; T. Schmidt, 'Les Commentaires de Basile le Minime: liste révisée des manuscrits et des éditions', *Byz* 70 (2000), 155–181; *Monac. gr.* 277.

Some scribes showed interest in the understanding of what they were copying, therefore they added marginalia. The following note stands in *Vindob. theol. gr.* 126. 3v and bolsters this contention: The notes which are here, we did not take over simply, or at random. τὰ ὑποκείμενα ταῦτα σημεία οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε περλάβομεν, see H. Hunger, O. Kresten, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 3.1. *Codices theologici 1–100* (Vienna, 1985), 87; see also Ch. Astruc, 'Remarques sur les signes marginaux de certains manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze', *AnBoll* 92 (1974), 289–295.

⁵⁶⁸ Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, 91–92.

⁵⁶⁹ Bruckmayr, *Untersuchungen*, 90. § 12.

⁵⁷⁰ PG 36.216 C, notes 16 and 17.

⁵⁷¹ *Or. 133.*, ed. Moreschini, 163. fn. 2.

eleventh-century manuscripts with marginalia show that the Biblical figures with which Gregory of Nazianzos disguised fourth-century key political figures, were also identified by eleventh-century readers.

The close parallels between the context of the eleventh-century alienation and the fourth-century Arianist crisis suggest that Leo of Chalcedon not only used the figures of Baltasar and Nabouzardon as Biblical *typoi* of sacrilege, but, presumably, the metropolitan knew late antique church history and the career of Gregory of Nazianzos. Therefore, Leo not only accused Alexios I with being ‘another Baltasar’ on the basis of the scriptures, but hid himself behind the authority of Gregory Nazianzos. When Leo cited Gregory’s *Against the Arians*, he recalled the fourth-century Arianist emperor Valens to remind Alexios of committing sacrilege.

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In sum, the section on Leo’s legal methodology demonstrates that Leo applied a number of techniques to arrange his arguments: the metropolitan found the proper *status* for the case under discussion; he reached back to the antique roots of Justinianic legislation and played up the contradiction between pagan and Christian *paideia* to blacken Alexios I; the prelate chose a chronological approach to a canonical problem; he focused on the discrepancy between *nomos* and *kanon* and used the legal principle on the lapse of legal stipulations; Leo presented the destruction of icons and the imperial family’s avarice using the formulas of legal penalties; finally, he also worded veiled *Kaiserkritik* from the *prosopon* of Gregory of Nazianzos.

1.6. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of what has been said so far, my results are the following. First, Leo the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon delivered his *Apologos* as the continuation of his activities in the Early Komnenian Debate on icons: in the oration, the metropolitan presented himself as an *apologetes* and not only exercised *parrhesia*, as he had done before. In my opinion the oration was delivered after the imperial *semeioma* of January 1086, in the presence of the emperor Alexios I. When Leo delivered the *Apologos*, he still held his metropolitan office of Chalcedon. I think that Leo was not deposed from his position in January 1086, as it has been assumed earlier, only announced to resign his episcopal see. However, it was not accepted by members of the *synodos endemousa*.

Second, the *Apologos* is part of the legal discourse which the Komnenian regents launched to bolster the alienation of church objects. I contend that Leo of Chalcedon’s *Apology* is a canonistic demonstration which showed that the alienation of church property and its use for secular purposes had gone beyond impiety. The oration highlights that the metropolitan’s self-representation changed in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate. In the defence-speech, Leo presented

himself as a *homologetes*, a defender of faith. I have demonstrated that Leo of Chalcedon reached a professional level as a debating canonist. The wording, style, and the application of sources in the oration can be compared to the orations of Niketas of Ankyra, or John Zonaras. Furthermore, the prelate used a plethora of techniques to present his arguments in a legal framework.

Third, the *Apologos* illuminates with clarity how fiercely Leo defended the church and the Byzantine tradition which was, inversely, the main source of Leo's authority. Despite the fact that Leo was a holy man, the metropolitan confined himself throughout the *Apologos* within the legal framework and based his arguments on texts which were considered in the Byzantine tradition as normative and divinely inspired.

2. THEOLOGY AND LOGIC

If one has a look at the historiography about the Komnenian Iconoclasm, undoubtedly, it was Leo's theology of icons, based on his letters, and Eustratios of Nikaia's reply in his *Dialogos* and *Syllogistic Demonstration* which attracted the attention of modern scholars to the greatest extent, that of theologians, art historians, and textual scholars alike.⁵⁷² Observers are in accord that Leo of Chalcedon was following elements of the Patristic tradition. The claim cannot be maintained that Leo was an innovative thinker in terms of applying Aristotelian elements in his train of thought which modify the results of preceding orthodox tradition.⁵⁷³ It could not be demonstrated either that the prelate misused basic theological notions, such as nature and *hypostasis*, or paid no attention to Christ's humanity.⁵⁷⁴ However, the fact that Leo reached the conclusion that not relational veneration, but adoration is to be paid to the painted image of Christ on icons (and not only to the prototype, as the traditional idea claims),⁵⁷⁵ cannot be denied and has been already pinpointed by Leo's contemporaries⁵⁷⁶ and by his modern readers.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷² See also the *Introduction* for an overview. The present thesis does not change the earlier scholarly evaluation of Leo's icon theology, only directs attention to its development and elucidates a passage from Theodore the Stoudite's *Letter 57* which was crucial for Leo's interpretation. As I have discussed in the previous subchapter, in the *Apology* Leo argued on the theological basis, too, against the alienation of church property. In the *Apology*, the statement about the hypostatic unity of the icon and prototype has been made which the prelate elaborated in more detail in his *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ* and in his letters.

⁵⁷³ Dirk Krausmüller claimed to identify inconsistencies in Leo's argumentation regarding his Trinitarian theology (D. Krausmüller, 'Aristotle in Cappadocian Garb: the Trinitarian Speculation of Nicetas Stethatos and Leo of Chalcedon', *Erytheia* 37 (2016), 37–54.). I do not find Krausmüller's reading of Leo's *Letter to Nicholas III Grammatikos* convincing with respect to the words: καθὸ δὴ καὶ οὐσία μία πάντες ὑπάρχομεν ('Aristotle in Cappadocian Garb', 46–47). I think that the use of the first plural does not contradict the use of the πάντες in the sense of ἕκαστος, at least Krausmüller's interpretation which goes as far as 'it is not possible that many individuals could have the same concrete body' is debatable. This Leo, I suppose, never contended. Krausmüller agrees with that view and considers this (so his own) interpretation as making no sense. Instead, he argues that Leo introduced the Aristotelian 'first substance' to explain the relationship of substance and hypostasis and that way gave a novel interpretation of the Cappadocian model. I think the solution is simpler. Krausmüller is right that this is the Aristotelian definition which Leo used. However, later in the article he cites Basil's *Letter 214* (p. 52) in which Basil presented the same Aristotelian reading about the individuality of the 'common substance'. I think that Leo had in mind Basil's *Letter 214* and paraphrased it. For a more literate Byzantine reader, it could have been obvious that Leo referred to Basil's *Letter 214*, since Basil's letter was one of the basic text in the patristic debate regarding the substance. The article also bolsters my view, since Krausmüller demonstrated obvious parallels with Basil's *Letter 214* in the passage from Leo's *Letter to Nicholas III Grammatikos* (p. 52). Therefore, I believe that the image about Leo as making a theological breakthrough cannot be shown.

⁵⁷⁴ As Bernard Lourié insisted: 'Une dispute sans justes: Léon de Chalcédoine, Eustrate de Nicée et la troisième querelle sur les images sacrées', *StP* 42 (2006), 321–340. His hypothesis was refuted by Dirk Krausmüller: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 423–431.

⁵⁷⁵ See John Damascene's views (e. g. Meyendorff, *Le Christ*, 245–71, [page numbers are from the Hungarian edition]) and the acts of the Second Council of Nikaia (Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 143–146).

⁵⁷⁶ Minutes of the Blachernai synod: PG 127.980–981.

⁵⁷⁷ Stephanou, 'La doctrine', 175–187; Glavinas, *Eris*, 161–177; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon'; Barber, 'Leo of Chalcedon'.

I launched this chapter with exposing Anna Komnene's critique regarding Leo's logic in his theological argumentation. The following section examines Anna's claim with surveying the views of modern scholars who discussed the question which Anna had raised. First, I present the results of Annamarie Carr, afterwards those of Dirk Krausmüller. At the end of the chapter, I draw the conclusion that Anna did not fail when she disapproved Leo's theological reasoning.

2.1. A LOGICAL GAP AND THE INFLUENCE OF EVERYDAY ICON VENERATION

The art historian Annamarie Carr, following the opinions of Pelopidas Stephanou and Alexander Glavinas,⁵⁷⁸ surveyed Leo's theology of icons. Carr presents that Leo's theology has two major components. First, his definition of the icon, second, the proper relation of the viewer to the visible form, or imprint (χαρακτήρ) and to the matter (ύλη). Leo defined the icon in a way which mirrored different approaches in the patristic tradition: certain texts focused on the material on which the image is inscribed, others referred to the image independently of the material. Leo united these opinions and according to his view the icon refers to the visible form inscribed on matter. Leo thought that the visible form was recognisable regardless the matter, so, the matter may vary and assume any infinite individualities, while the visible form is one and indivisible, the same whether it is observed in the person of the original, or in any, painted, or mosaiced, copy. The visible form can be that of Christ, or that of one of Christ's saints. Following John of Damascus, Leo claimed that Christ's visible form is inseparable from his divinity: it brings the divinity with it. This brings about the obligation of true worship (λατρευτικῶς προσκυνεῖται καὶ σέβεται ὡς Θεός).⁵⁷⁹ Holiness is present in the visible form, not in the material, the material, though, is necessary as the vehicle which brings the divinity to the viewer. Christ is seen through this visible form, likewise Christ is seen through his saints. Leo contended that as the saints deserved veneration, the material of the icon similarly deserved it. So, the prelate used the analogy of saints to attribute relative veneration (σχετική προσκύνησις) to the material of the icon.⁵⁸⁰ In Leo's view, absolute veneration (λατρευτική προσκύνησις) is due to the visible form of Christ in his icon. This obviously was against the mainstream orthodox viewpoint which defined that only relative veneration can be paid to the icons⁵⁸¹ and, therefore, Leo's ideas were condemned at the Blachernai synod as heterodox.⁵⁸²

Leo of Chalcedon, as it has been noted in scholarship, based his ideas on earlier debates about icons, however, as Carr has noticed, his conclusions were different from them. Two of his

⁵⁷⁸ Stephanou, 'La doctrine'; Glavinas, *Eris*, 161–174.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ep. Nic.* 415.

⁵⁸⁰ See also below p. 113–114.

⁵⁸¹ See f. i. the acts of the Second Council of Nikaia: *Karmires* 238–240; and J. Meyendorff, *Initiation a la théologie byzantine. L'histoire et la doctrine* (Paris, 1975), 62–68.

⁵⁸² Glavinas, *Eris*, 187–193.

arguments stand out. First, Leo focused on how the iconic image relates to the material upon which it is inscribed. Second, the prelate was interested in defining the relationship of the divine resemblance with the iconic image. As Carr has pointed out, Leo applied the statement of Basil the Great that the imperial image, too, had been called the emperor, yet there had not been two emperors. The problem was discussed by the fathers of the Second Council of Nikaia (787) and also by Theodore the Stoudite. They used Basil's passage to show that the image and the original were united semiotically by a shared name. Leo, however, saw in Basil's idea something different: the prelate used the passage to enhance the view that the sensible form was indivisible whether found in original, or image, it was one and the same (ταὐτόν).⁵⁸³ While Theodore and members of the Seventh Council used, as Carr has worded it, the 'indexiality of the image' to describe the relationship of icon and prototype, i. e. the configuration of forms or colours on a surface, or the configuration of letters on a page enabled the viewer to read the appropriate name which signalled the name's bearer, Leo of Chalcedon stressed that the icon literally possessed an image, or visible form (χαράκτῆρ) that belongs also to the original. Carr concisely summarised Leo's strange train of thought:

The hypostasis of Christ is inseparable from his divinity and showing in turn that Christ's visible form is inseparable from his hypostasis, Leo argues that the visible form of Christ is thus inseparable from his divinity. It brings the divinity with it; with it in turn comes the obligation of true worship. The visible form of Christ appears in icons: indivisible from Christ's divinity, it brings his sanctity to them and must be accorded true worship in them.⁵⁸⁴

The most questionable part in Leo's argumentation is the 'transfer' of divinity between Christ, the prototype's visible form and the visible image of Christ on icons. As Carr has concluded: 'For Leo, the crux of the matter lay not in referentiality, but in presence'.⁵⁸⁵ Furthermore, the researcher's interpretation emphasises that Leo stressed the divinity of icons, because he based his argumentation on the religiosity of his age: faithful, from the highest echelons of power to the lower strata, venerated icons such as the Hodegetria and Blachernai icons of the Theotokos, or Christ's icon in the church at the Chalke gate.⁵⁸⁶ What is more, they attributed divine power to the

⁵⁸³ Carr mentioned this element in Leo's thought, but did not examine it further which Dirk Krausmüller has pursued recently, see below.

⁵⁸⁴ Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 580–581.

⁵⁸⁵ Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 582. See also R. Betancourt, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2018), 233–234 which brings further Carr's view and discusses Leo's ideas in the context of artistic 'medium'.

⁵⁸⁶ In this respect, Carr recapitulated the previous contention of Valerie Nunn: Nunn, 'Encheirion', 89.

precious textiles hanging on, or veiling icons.⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, Carr has argued that Leo has left a logical loophole in his demonstration and emphasised that the prelate's icon theology was based on contemporary religious practice rather than on an elucidate theoretical exposition. However, Dirk Krausmüller has recently claimed that Leo of Chalcedon had not only stressed the unity of iconic representation (χαρακτήρ) and prototype, thus leaving a logical loophole in his argumentation as Carr has contended, but had created a coherent theory of that.⁵⁸⁸

2.2. A COHERENT THEOLOGY OF ICONS?

In the following paragraphs, I present elements of Leo's icon theology. My exposé is based on Krausmüller's study which I find convincing, moreover, the most coherent regarding Leo's ideas on icons.⁵⁸⁹ In his *Letter to Nicholas of Hadrianople*, Leo tried to define what an icon is. First, the prelate referred to Christ the Logos as the icon of the Father,⁵⁹⁰ afterwards the first men, Adam and Seth as images of the Creator God.⁵⁹¹ Afterwards, Leo turned to the painted icons which are different from these 'images': the icon is only the imprint which is painted on [different] materials. εἰκὼν λέγεται παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ μόνως ὁ ταῖς ὕλαις ἐγγραφόμενος χαρακτήρ'.⁵⁹² In the following sentences Leo stressed further that the icon is not the material in which it is written (μόνος ὁ χαρακτήρ δίχα τῆς ὕλης), but the imprint which it showed.⁵⁹³ This argument is central for Leo, because he aimed at demonstrating the unity and simplicity (ἀπλοῦν τι ἐστὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἓν καὶ ἀνάριθμον) of the icon. According to Leo's opinion, it was only the matter which showed any kind of diversity (ὅτι ἐν οἷς μὲν ἐστὶ μικρά τις διαφορὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις εὐρίσκεται, ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀριθμός). The stress on the χαρακτήρ as the unified and simple main component of an icon is important in Leo's train of thought, because it prepares the ground to demonstrate that the imprint is similar, moreover one and the same with the *hypostasis* of Christ, the prototype. The prelate, in order to bolster his claim, cited *Oration 30* of Gregory of Nazianzos.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁷ See Foteini Spingou's PhD thesis (*Works and Artworks in the Twelfth Century and Beyond* (Oxford, 2012), esp. Parts II and III) for dedicatory epigrams which document this type of religiosity and pertained to icons, textiles, and other artefacts in the twelfth century.

⁵⁸⁸ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', esp. 423.

⁵⁸⁹ In addition to the details presented in the following paragraphs, Krausmüller claims that Leo's ideas show parallels with Theodore the Stoudite's doctrine on icons to that degree that Leo, probably, built up his ideas from the building blocks he had found in Theodore's writings (Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 432–437). I agree with Krausmüller's contention, nevertheless, Theodore the Stoudite's *Letter 57* played, in my view, a more important model for Leo than it has been assumed, as it was paraphrased almost literally by Leo in the *Apology* (*Apol.* 117–122).

⁵⁹⁰ *Ep. Nic.* 414b l. 10–12.

⁵⁹¹ *Ep. Nic.* 414b l. 19–20.

⁵⁹² *Ep. Nic.* 414b l. 21–22.

⁵⁹³ *Ep. Nic.* 414b l. 30–44.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ep. Nic.* 414b l. 49–415a l. 1–2 is a literal quotation from the oration of the Theologian: *Or.* 30.20 l. 23–25, ed. P. Gallay and M. Jourjon, p. 268.

Gregory in his *Oration 30* wrote about the relationship of Father and the Son and presented Christ as the Father's image which is not similar, but rather one and the same (ταὐτὸν μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀφομοίωμα). The problem with citing this passage from Leo's point of view is that it is Trinitarian theology and discusses details of the relation between the Father and the Son and not about the Son and its representation in icons.⁵⁹⁵ In order to describe how Christ's *hypostasis* is related to the imprint on icons, Leo coined the notion θεοὑπόστατος, 'divinely hypostasised' with regard to Christ's image, or imprint (τοῦ Χριστοῦ χαρακτήρ θεοὑπόστατος).⁵⁹⁶ As Dirk Krausmüller has observed, this was the terminology which earlier authors applied to Christ's flesh (ἡ θεοὑπόστατος σάρξ) to explain the relationship between Christ's humanity and divinity. It was worded in the sixth-century during the Nestorian debate, first by Leontios of Byzantium (485–543).⁵⁹⁷ Leo applied the notion in the following way:

The imprint of Christ, which is divinely hypostasised, that is, which has gained *hypostasis* in the very *hypostasis* of the Son of God, and which is therefore itself God, because the Son has been substantially conjoined and is conjoined with it (sc. the imprint) so that it cannot be separated and pulled apart, is also venerated adorationally in his holy images and is worshipped as God. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χαρακτήρ θεοὑπόστατος ὑπάρχων, τουτέστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑποστάσει τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑποστάς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ αὐτὸς κατ' οὐσίαν συναφθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνημμένου ὄντος τούτῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀδιαστάτως καὶ ἀδιασπᾶστως καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ λατρευτικῶς προσκυνεῖται καὶ σέβεται ὡς θεός.⁵⁹⁸

Leo emphasised the strong bond between the imprint and Christ's *hypostasis*. The prelate took the formula κατ' οὐσίαν συναφθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνημμένου ὄντος τούτῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ from Gregory of Nazianzos' *Letter 101*. Gregory wrote about the unity and identity of the persons of the Trinity in their divinity (ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία καὶ ταὐτὸν τῇ θεότητι).⁵⁹⁹ Gregory stressed that this tie is essential and inseparable (κατ' οὐσίαν συνῆφθαί τε καὶ συνάπτεσθαι).⁶⁰⁰ Leo took this expression and rephrased it to apply to the imprint of Christ on icons. In other words, Leo asserts that the visible form (χαρακτήρ) of Christ in the icons is the extension of the visible form (χαρακτήρ) of Christ himself which is part of Christ's humanity. However, the prelate could not satisfyingly explain the difference between the visible form of the prototype and the visible form in icons.

⁵⁹⁵ As Krausmüller noticed, as well: Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 426.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ep. Nic.* 415. See Krausmüller's analysis: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 425.

⁵⁹⁷ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 426.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ep. Nic.* 415a l. 39–45. Dirk Krausmüller's translation: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 425.

⁵⁹⁹ *Letter 101* c. 21, ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques* (Paris, 1974), 46.

⁶⁰⁰ *Letter 101* c. 22, ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques* (Paris, 1974), 46.

Leo was aware of this problem and carefully tried to avoid to create a fourth person to the Trinity and fall into the heresy of Nestorianism. His efforts to prevent his adversaries to bring against him this charge is visible in his argumentation.⁶⁰¹ He attempted at making a difference between the adoration due to the persons of the Trinity and to the divinised imprint. The prelate asserted that Christ, the Father, and the Holy Spirit were venerated together with one [type] of adoration (μιᾷ προσκυνήσει συμπροσκυνοῦνται λατρευτικῶς),⁶⁰² while the imprint is only venerated with another type of veneration (ὁ ὑπεράγιος αὐτοῦ [i. e. τοῦ Υἱοῦ] χαρακτηρ προσκυνεῖται μιᾷ προσκυνήσει λατρευτικῶς).⁶⁰³ Thus, there was a veneration due to persons of the Trinity (συμπροσκυνοῦνται) and another veneration (προσκυνεῖται), due to the imprint on images.⁶⁰⁴ In the same passage, Leo stated that the imprint of Christ's body is conjoined with Christ's divinity as regards its hypostatic substance. With regard to its nature, it is not the same, but the link between the divinity and the imprint is concurrence (σύνοδος).⁶⁰⁵ Here Leo applied the anti-Nestorian teaching about the unity of Christ's divine nature and his humanity to Christ's external appearance and its imprint on icons. Therefore, in Leo's view, the visible form of Christ in the icon compared to the visible form of the prototype is lesser in degree with respect to adoration (only προσκυνεῖται and not συμπροσκυνεῖται); however, it has the same relation which has Christ's human nature with Christ's divine nature. In any circumstances adoration and not veneration is to be paid to the representation of Christ in the icon which was in opposite to the orthodox tenet.

Leo's another attempt at solving the relationship of the two imprints was his use of the method of homonymy:⁶⁰⁶

I believe, then, that the image of Christ, too, is called Christ, and not two Christs but one in all respects apart from the difference of substance. This is also the opinion of the great Dionysius. For neither is their glory cut asunder nor is their power split, as the great Basil declared. And he who cuts asunder their glory and splits their power evidently introduces two venerations,

⁶⁰¹ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 427; for Nestorianism, see ODB 2 s. v. 'Nestorianism'; for the summary about the Byzantine doctrine on Christ's humanity, contemporary to Leo, consult Zigabenos' *Panoplia Dogmatike*, PG 130. 207–245.

⁶⁰² *Ep. Nic.* 446a l. 30.

⁶⁰³ *Ep. Nic.* 446a l. 34.

⁶⁰⁴ See Lourié, 'Uni dispute sans justes', 327–328.

⁶⁰⁵ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 427. Cf. Lourié, 'Une dispute sans justes', 324 where Lourié argues that Leo used erroneously the notion of *hypostasis* and *physis* when explaining the *synodos* of Christ's humanity and divinity. See Krausmüller's refutation: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 427.

⁶⁰⁶ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 429–430; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 581–582; Based on the Aristotelian ὁμώνυμον (*Arist. Cat.* 1, 1a1), it was Basil the Great who introduced the definition of homonym to the discussion relation of image and prototype. For later use in the discourse on icons, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, New York), 54–55.

cutting asunder their glory and splitting their power. And he is without doubt an adorer of idols according to the lesser veneration of the image.

Πιστεύω οὖν ὅτι Χριστὸς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκὼν· καὶ οὐ δύο Χριστοί, ἀλλ' εἷς κατὰ πάντα, παρὰ μόνον τὸ τῆς οὐσίας διάφορον· καθὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Διονυσίῳ δοκεῖ⁶⁰⁷ οὔτε γὰρ ἡ δόξα τούτων σχίζεται οὔτε τὸ κράτος μερίζεται, ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἀπεφήνατο·⁶⁰⁸ ὁ δὲ σχίζων τὴν δόξαν τούτων καὶ τὸ κράτος μερίζων πρόδηλον ὅτι δύο προσκυνήσεις εἰσφέρειν (lege: εἰσφέρων), σχίζει τὴν δόξαν τούτων καὶ τὸ κράτος μερίζει· καὶ ἐστὶν εἰδωολάτρης ἀναντιρρήτως κατὰ τὴν ἐλάττονα τῆς εἰκότος προσκύνησιν.⁶⁰⁹

The fathers of the Second Council of Nikaia (787) quoted Basil's passage from his *On the Holy Spirit*, nevertheless, their conclusions were utterly different.⁶¹⁰ They claimed that the image and original were united semiotically by a shared name: the configuration of forms and colours allowed the viewer to read the appropriate name which referred him or her to the prototype.⁶¹¹ The icons, according to this interpretation, helped the faithful to pay adoration to the prototype and not to the iconic representation. The acts of the Second Council emphasised that the icon had only the name in common with the prototype, not the essence. Leo obviously was aware of this view when he wrote 'apart from the difference of substance', nonetheless, he stressed the identity of image and prototype which was brought about by the homonymy, or, in other words, by the analogy of names. Thus, in Leo's argumentation, the method of the *homonymon* bolstered the claim that an identical veneration is to be paid to image and prototype. Leo's last sentence called his reader's attention to the claim that there could not be two types of veneration: one paid to the image and one to the prototype. Both must be worshipped as divine, because, if a different, 'lesser' veneration is accorded to the image, this would practically separate the faithful from the prototype himself and entail the worship of an idol.⁶¹² As Krausmüller has noticed, by implication this is Nestorianism.⁶¹³

Leo of Chalcedon emphasised that the outward appearance of Christ was separable from Christ's human nature. That way the prelate tried to avoid the impression that he was confusing the hypostatic and natural aspects of the divine Son.⁶¹⁴ The prelate stressed the unity of appearance

⁶⁰⁷ Pseudo-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 4.1. *Corpus Dionysiacum, II: De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae*, ed. G. Heil, A. M. Ritter (Berlin, New York, 1991), 96.

⁶⁰⁸ Basil of Kaisareia, *On the Holy Spirit* 18, ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris, 1968), 406.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ep. Patr.* 406a l. 29–34, transl. Dirk Krausmüller; deciphering Leo's citations are also Krausmüller's results: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 428.

⁶¹⁰ *Karmires* 238–240.

⁶¹¹ Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 581.

⁶¹² The 'mainstream' theology of icons with the theory of relative veneration definitely rules out this option.

⁶¹³ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 429.

⁶¹⁴ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 430.

and the prototype, nonetheless elaborated the theory that the distinction between Christ's 'body' (σῶμα) and 'form' (σχῆμα) had been made only by means of mental operation:

Even if one distinguishes through a mental operation the form from the body, their nature nevertheless does not permit the distinction but the one is conceived of in conjunction with the other.

ἀλλ' ὅμως κἂν λόγῳ διακρίνη τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος, ἢ γοῦν φύσις οὐ παραδέχεται τὴν διάκρισιν, ἀλλὰ συνημμένως νοῖεται μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον.⁶¹⁵

Regarding icons, Leo inevitably made the point of strict distinction between the painted appearance and the prototype:

By contrast, in the case of the holy icons the shape is distinguished from the body lest they, too, have the substance of the prototypes and are prototypes rather than images.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων διακρίνεται τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὗται τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχουσαι τῶν πρωτοτύπων, πρωτότυπα μᾶλλον ὥσι καὶ οὐκ εἰκόνες.⁶¹⁶

Finally, Leo had to provide a solution for the relationship between the iconic material, the representation which is portrayed, and the prototype.⁶¹⁷ As I have already treated above, the prelate made a clear distinction between the representation, or imprint (χαρακτήρ) and the material (ὕλη). Leo used the established theory of relative veneration of the icons to assess the religious treatment due to the material of the images. He interpreted the orthodox view as not focusing on the imprint, but on the iconic material only:⁶¹⁸

The material aspect of the image is venerated through honour and relationally, that is, because of the relation to the divinely hypostasised character of Christ, whereas the imprint that is seen in it is venerated adorationally not because of another but itself because of itself.

Ἡ μὲν εἰκονικὴ ὕλη τιμητικῶς καὶ σχετικῶς προσκυνεῖται· τουτέστι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεοὑπόστατον Χριστοῦ χαρακτήρα σχέσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρώμενος αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ οὐ δι' ἄλλον τινὰ ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτὸν λατρευτικῶς προσκυνεῖται.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁵ *Ep. Patr.* 407a l. 15–18 transl. by Krausmüller: 'Adoring Christ's Image', 430 and 'Aristotle in Cappadocian Garb', 47.

⁶¹⁶ *Ep. Patr.* 407a l. 18–19, transl. by Krausmüller: 'Aristotle in Cappadocian Garb', 47.

⁶¹⁷ Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 431–432.

⁶¹⁸ See f.i. *Ep. Nic.* 415a l. 8–10. In Krausmüller's view, Leo rejected the notion of relative veneration, because it could lead to Nestorian creature-adoration, see 'Adoring Christ's Image', 431.

⁶¹⁹ *Ep. Nic.* 415a l. 27–31.

Leo's reasoning at this point, as throughout his writings, centred around the unity of the imprint and prototype. The iconic material possesses (σκέσις) the imprint and that way plays a greater role in icon worship than according to the established theory of veneration.⁶²⁰

2.3. THEOLOGY AND LOGIC: FINAL REMARKS

The opinion that Leo of Chalcedon's theory on the images is a 'poorly constructed icon theology' is acceptable,⁶²¹ despite the fact that the prelate made an attempt to define the relationship of icon and prototype. By and large, Leo's argumentation is self-assertive and forceful. When he made his case, as it is evident from the overview of his ideas, Leo has one-track mind. He recurrently emphasised the hypostatic unity of the painted representation (χαρακτήρ) and prototype.

However, I agree with Krausmüller who refutes that Leo's train of thought is not coherent, nevertheless, I find it rather systematic than coherent. Leo did not fail to treat those aspects which he considered important: Christ's human and divine nature; his body and its appearance; the relationship of image and prototype, both with regard to the iconic material and the painted representation. The prelate was aware of the results and impasses of the preceding doctrinal discussions and made his citations and references in a way to defend himself from the accusations which may be directed against him. Indeed, Leo made painstaking efforts not to be accused with any kind of heresy.

Moreover, the metropolitan, as it can be argued on the basis of his *Letter to Alexios I*, or his *Apology*, aimed at promoting orthodoxy. Leo's theology of icons is a *cento* made from elements of the orthodox theological tradition. Leo used the works of the preceding theologians in a creative manner and aimed at defending his own case and argumentation whose result was novel. Furthermore, Leo borrowed elements from Trinitarian theology and, basically, having in mind the essential unity between persons of the Trinity and the relation between Christ's divinity, humanity, and its representation, he came to a conclusion which stated the opposite which the mainstream view on icon worship claimed.

Therefore, Leo's theory on icons is a one-sided, but coherently built exposition. His ideas served the purpose to prove the heterodoxy of Alexios I's confiscation of church objects.⁶²² The

⁶²⁰ Stephanou, 'La doctrine', 186; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 581; Barber, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 141; Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 432.

⁶²¹ Barber, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 131.

⁶²² The political motives behind Leo's religiosity have been emphasised, see Stephanou, 'La doctrine', 177 and 199; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 186–214; Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 582; Krausmüller, 'Adoring Christ's Image', 423.

metropolitan used the arguments at his disposal to argue that the emperor ordered the demolition of saintly objects. The building blocks of his train of thought were taken from different authors and theological fields, lacking the needy polish and elaboration which brought them together. This, aspect presumably led Anna Komnene to point out Leo's missing training in logic. Anna's other claim, namely that Leo's opinions were only partly orthodox, can be understood easily considering the prelate's central contention: the hypostatic unity of iconic χαρακτήρ and prototype.

CHAPTER THREE. MIRACLES

This chapter analyses written miraculous accounts which are related to Leo of Chalcedon. Miracles were part and parcel of Byzantine religious culture.⁶²³ They were considered as God's manifestation on earth and the essential characteristic of sainthood.⁶²⁴ Saint performed miracles with divine support as a sign of supernatural in earthly circumstances. The association of holy people with miraculous events is copiously attested in saints' lives in which a separate section is traditionally dedicated to their miracles.⁶²⁵

In the second half of the eleventh century it has been questioned whether people can become saints.⁶²⁶ What is more, some intellectuals, such as John Italos, debated whether saints can perform miracles.⁶²⁷ This attitude influenced the entire Komnenian period which was not the golden age of Byzantine hagiography and the role of the 'holy man' in the Byzantine society was called into doubt, at least by intellectuals.⁶²⁸ However, as the example of Leo of Chalcedon shows, miracles played a role and bore functions even in an age of disbelief. The surviving sources record two apparition miracles about Leo which date to the metropolitan's lifetime. The *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* presents the prelate as a bishop wearing imperial clothes, while in Book 7 of the *Alexiad* Leo is characterised as a saintly intercessor, saving the life of George Palaiologos in the battle of Dristra (August 1087). While in recent decades scholars studied miracles from a plethora of aspects, this chapter is influenced by two scholarly approaches. First, holiness is a social construct and sanctification is a process to which a certain saintly person is subject to.⁶²⁹ In other words, saintly people had contact with other people and already in their lifetime, or after their death their deeds and memory were preserved in written works, or in other media. Second, Benjamin Moulet contends that miracles associated with bishops are connected to the functions which the prelates

⁶²³ A highly selective set of publications focusing on the middle Byzantine period: A. Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance: étude sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine, IX-XI siècles* (Paris, 2010); Pratsch, *Topos*, 225–286; Magdalino, 'The Historiography of Dreaming in Medieval Byzantium'; On eleventh -century collections of miracles, see S. Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1 (Farnham, Burlington, 2011), 147.

⁶²⁴ ODB 2 1378–1379 s. v. 'miracles', and ODB 3 1828 s. v. 'saint'.

⁶²⁵ Pratsch, *Topos*, 225–240.

⁶²⁶ S. Paschalides, "Ο ανέκδοτος λόγος τοῦ Νικήτα Στηθάτου "κατὰ ἀγιοκατηγόρων" καὶ ἡ ἀμφοισβήτηση τῆς ἀγιότητος στὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 11ο αἰώνα", *Οἱ Ἡρώες τῆς Ὁρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galanaki (Athens, 2004), 493–518.

⁶²⁷ Gouillard, 'Léthargie des âmes'; Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1:148.

⁶²⁸ See Magdalino, 'Holy Man'.

⁶²⁹ Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 1–38 and also S. Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (Oxford, 2006).

exercised, such as acting on behalf of the inhabitants of their see in the case of a military invasion, plague, or famine.⁶³⁰ In other cases, bishops heal or protect individuals with whom they had a special relationship, or who turned to them during their lifetime, or as to already dead intercessors.

Leo's two miracles are treated separately, as they differ substantially with regard to their genre, content, and textual context. This chapter seeks to clarify 1) the functions, or roles which are associated with Leo in his miracles, 2) the agenda the miracles promote and, 3) the interest of certain individuals, or groups behind these portrays about the prelate. The chapter shows that the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* portrays Leo as a royal or imperial prelate, and as such, a competing rival for the *basileus*. This image was created by Leo's supporters, but the metropolitan did not promote it himself. The image of the holy protector was fostered by the Doukas branch of the imperial family, as I have already treated in Chapter One, and the story came to Anna's hands as part of a biographical account about George Palaiologos' deeds. As the second section demonstrates, Anna Komnene used the source creatively to underline her own opinion about divine intervention in worldly affairs, and, at the same time, promote her own agenda regarding Alexios I's religiosity.

1. LEO OF CHALCEDON AND THE 'ROYAL PRIESTHOOD': *THE DREAM OF THOMAS THE DEACON*

The first section invites the reader to take part in an *oneirokrisia*, that is, dream-interpretation. In the manuscript which contained Leo of Chalcedon's correspondence a short dream-description also survived.⁶³¹ One of the priests of the Hagia Sophia, called Thomas, had a dream in which he saw Leo of Chalcedon in the church of Saint Euphemia wearing an imperial outfit. The text of the scenario is as follows:⁶³²

t	διήγησις ἑνὸς θαύματος
5	τις τῶν ἱερέων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Θωμᾶς καλούμενος εἶδε τὴν παροῦσαν ὄρασιν ^a ἐκ τρίτου ^b καθ' ὑπνόν. ἐθεάσατο γὰρ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον μητροπολίτην Χαλκηδόνος ἔσωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς πανευφήμου μάρτυρος τῆς Εὐφημίας βασιλικὴν στολὴν περιβαλλόμενον καὶ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτιθέντα μέγιστον χρυσοῦν φακίολιον, ^c καὶ οἶα περ εἰκὸς ἐκπλαγεὶς μετ' αἰδοῦς πολλῆς καὶ συστολῆς ἐφθέγγατο πρὸς

⁶³⁰ For a typology of episcopal miracles, see: Moulet, *Évêques*, 445–450.

⁶³¹ A. Lavriotes, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα', 404. With regard to the order of the manuscript, see Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 118.

⁶³² The text should be reedited, alongside with Leo's letters as Lavriotes' editorial decisions are sometimes questionable.

10	αὐτόν-τί τοῦτο δέσποτά μου ὅπερ θεωρῶ σε διαπραττόμενον; οὐ δέδοικας μή τινες ἐξερχόμενόν σε ἰδόντες κατεΐπωσί σου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα; ὁ δὲ ἰλαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ χαριέντως οὕτως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντεφθέγγατο ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ πρῶταθλος καὶ πρωταγωνιστῆς ^d τιμὴν ἔχει πλείονα τῶν συνδούλων, ^e οὕτως ὁ νήφων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργον. ^f καὶ πως παρρησιασμένως ἐλέγχων τοὺς ἀνομοῦντας, οἷα τις μάχαιρα δίστομος, ^g τοιαύτην παρὰ Θεοῦ στολὴν τιμῆς ἀμφιέννυται. ταῦτ'οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ εὐλαβὴς ἱερεὺς οὐδὲν ἕτερον τοῖς εἰρημένοις τροστίθησιν ἢ τοῦτο μετὰ θαύματος ἐξειπὼν ὧ βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα. ^h		
	a JI 2:28 (LXX); Act 2:17	b Mt 26:44	c Acta Pilati A. 1,2.; Bas. Caes. <i>hist. myst.</i> 19. Pall. <i>hist. laus.</i> (PG 34 1009B); Acta Petri et Pauli 80b; J. Malalas <i>Chronica</i> 18 (PG 669 B); Phot. <i>lex.</i> κ, p. 167 ⁷
	d Sokrates <i>hist. eccl.</i> 5, 25, 13	e 1 Col 7:2: καθὼς ἐμάθε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ τοῦ [...] συνδούλου ἡμῶν ὃς ἐστὶν [...] διάκονος; Ef 2:1; ἀδελφοὶ καὶ σύνδουλοι Clement of Alexandria <i>Letter</i> 17 (PG 2 53 A)	
	f <i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i> (PG 65 101 A): νήφων εἰς τὰ ἔργα	g Heb 4:12	h 1 Pet 2
<p>Account of a miracle</p> <p>One of the priests of God's Great Church called Thomas saw a vision appearing three times in his dream. He saw the much-God-beloved metropolitan of Chalcedon in the nave of the [church] of the all-adored martyr Euphemia. The metropolitan wore an imperial robe and a great golden headband on his head. Thomas struck by the respect he felt, 5 asked him abasing: 'How is it possible, my lord, that I see you officiating?'⁶³³ Do not you fear lest some will report you to the emperor, if they see that you came here?' But the metropolitan joyfully replied to him with a happy face that as the winner and the protagonist is more honoured than his fellow servants, so the one who is sober in the work for God. And if one accuses those who break the law and speak against them openly in any way, as a two-edged sword, he will be vested by God with such an honourable outfit. 10 After hearing such words the pious priest did not put forward anything, but this with great reverence, 'O royal priesthood'.</p>			

1.1. DATING AND GENRE

The dream can be dated on the basis of Thomas' statement that Leo is banned from Constantinople, thus, it is plausible to contextualise it to the period of Leo's exile, i.e. between 1090–1094.

Thomas' dream is not a typical everyday dream contained in dreambooks, but rather a

⁶³³ It is Michael Angold's interpretation of the word διαπραττω: Angold, *Church and Society*, 48. See also Judit Ryder: Ryder, 'Leo of Chalcedon', 175.

hagiographical account with political agenda.⁶³⁴ The *lemma* of Thomas' dream says that it is an account of a miracle (διήγησις ἐνὸς θαύματος). The text rather describes a vision in a dream (ὄρασις καθ' ὕπνόν). Similar hagiographical dreams and visions from the early Komnenian period were documented in the *Alexiad* and in the *Life of Cyril Phileotes*.⁶³⁵ A comparison with Cyril's *vita* is enlightening with respect to Thomas' dream, since it contains fifteen dream-descriptions of different kind.⁶³⁶ Some of these dreams are similar in structure to that of Thomas: an identifier concerning the type of the dream at the beginning, the description of the clothes, a dialogue, and a conclusion.⁶³⁷ It is remarkable that the dream-description emphasises that Thomas was wonderstruck and that he turned towards Leo with reverence. Compared to Cyril's *Life*, Cyril impressed people to stand in awe of him only after his death.⁶³⁸ Thus, on the one hand, the author of Thomas' dream portrayed Leo as it was the case with other holy men of the period. On the other hand, he undoubtedly sought to bring attention to Leo's supernatural, divine nature despite the fact that the bishop was still alive.

1.2. VIEWS IN SECONDARY LITERATURE

Modern research did not examine Thomas's dream exhaustively. The first who commented on Thomas' dream was Venance Grumel.⁶³⁹ The scholar considered the dream to be the token of Leo's high popularity after his deposition, during the time of his exile. The passage was also

⁶³⁴ Some samples from the literature on dream-interpretation in Byzantium as starting points: M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocritic Literature of the Late Roman and Byzantine Eras of Greece: Manuscript Studies, Translations and Commentaries to the Dream-Books of Greece During the First Millenium A. D., with Greek and English Catalogues of the Dream-Symbols and with a Discussion of Greek Oneiromancy from Homer to Manuel the Palaiologian*, PhD diss., (Michigan, 1981); G. Calofonos, 'Dream Interpretation: A Byzantinist Superstition?', *BMGS* 9 (1984-85), 215-220; M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources* (Leiden, Boston, 2002); S. Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in Translation, with Commentary and Introduction* (Farnham, 2008); S. Oberhelman, *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: from Antiquity to the Present* (Farnham, 2013); S. Oberhelman, 'The Dream-Key Manuals of Byzantium', ed. Ch. Angelidi, G. Calofonos, *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond* (Farnham, 2014), 145-160.

⁶³⁵ Anna recorded only a few miraculous events: the apparition of John, the Evangelist to Alexios at Karpianos, in the eve of his accession (Al. 2.7.4-7, see Magdalino, 'The Historiography of Dreaming in Medieval Byzantium', 133); the apparition of Demetrios of Thessalonike in a dream to Alexios to foretell the *basileus'* victory over Bohemond (Al. 5.5.6), the apparition of John the Evangelist in a dream to Basil, eparch of Constantinople (Al. 12.4.1-4) and the apparition of Leo of Chalcedon to George Palaiologos (Al. 7.4.1).

⁶³⁶ M. Mullett, 'Dreaming in the *Life of Cyril Phileotes*', *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Ch. Angelidi, G. Calofonos (Farnham, 2014), 1-21.

⁶³⁷ See the apparition of Theocharia, the embodied divine grace, to Cyril, V. Cyr. 76; the episode with the traveller who came to Cyril: V. Cyr. 78; a monk's disturbing dream without a dialogue: V. Cyr. 122.

⁶³⁸ V. Cyr. 261.

⁶³⁹ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 127: 'Ce récit est manifestement contemporain de la déposition de Léon, car, après son rétablissement, il ne conviendrait plus. Il indique que sa condamnation n'a pas détruit la vénération qui l'entourait, elle l'a peut-être accrue'.

interpreted by Michael Angold.⁶⁴⁰ He compared Leo to mighty patriarchs of earlier Byzantine history and emphasised that the metropolitan had acted in the place of the patriarch as the defender of the Byzantine church. Angold's interpretation was followed by Victoria Gerhold⁶⁴¹ and Jack Roskilly.⁶⁴² Victoria Gerhold additionally stated that Leo had followed the model of patriarch Michael Keroularios without, though, defining exactly in which way.

My aim is to support these statements and to expand them with the help of the *Donation of Constantine*, a spurious document, which was forged in Italy probably during the eighth century and could be brought to Constantinople in 1053 by the envoys of pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054).⁶⁴³ The pro-papal pamphlet surviving under the name of Leo IX and commonly called as *Libellus* preserved a Latin text of the *Constitutum Constantini*.⁶⁴⁴ Leo's 'imperial outfit' in the dream-description and Thomas' address to the exiled metropolitan as 'royal priesthood' show parallels to Leo IX's *Libellus*. After some remarks on the *Constitutum Constantini* and its assumable use in eleventh-century Byzantium, I examine details of Leo's clothing and attempt to contextualise the expressions of the dream which I regard important.

1.3. THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE

The *Donation of Constantine*, as it appeared in the *Libellus*, was a result of a longer textual development of different phases.⁶⁴⁵ The legend of pope Sylvester (the *Actus Silvestri*) baptising

⁶⁴⁰ Angold, *Church and Society*, 49: 'It was a story that probably originated amongst Leo's supporters. It portrayed him as a man in the tradition of those patriarchs who used their spiritual and moral authority to advance the power of the church. In changed circumstances, Leo was left to defend these interests against imperial power. It left him open to ridicule for dressing up like an emperor and challenging the proper order of a Christian society'. I cannot see the textual basis and the exact meaning of the last sentence.

⁶⁴¹ Gerhold, 'Le "mouvement"', 98, 100.: 'La "vision" du diacre Thomas [...] remet en question une fois du plus de loyauté du clan du Doukai, et souligne comment l'opposition au pouvoir impérial était fondée sur une association étroite entre laïc et ecclésiastiques [...] prélates contestataires, fiers défenseurs de l'héritage du patriarche Cérulaire, aussi bien que les dignitaires civils écartés par l'ascension des Comnènes, et le clan des Doukai'. Gerhold's claim regarding the disloyalty of the Doukai is debatable, as I have argued above. In addition to this, Gerhold followed Angold's interpretation, cited in the previous note.

⁶⁴² Roskilly, *Λογιώτατοι ποιμένες*, 150. Roskilly dated the dream to 1082 and referred to the parallels with the *Donation of Constantine*. These ideas are based on my first presentation of the dream at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2015.

⁶⁴³ Concerning details of Leo IX's rule and those of the Schism in 1054: A. Louth, *Greek East and Latin West: The Church, AD 681-1071* (Crestwood, 2007); also: B. Whalen, 'Rethinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy, and the Latin Rite', *Traditio* 62 (2007), 1–24; A. Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit: Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054* (Cologne, 2002); P. Gemeinhardt, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, New York, 2002).

⁶⁴⁴ The title 'Libellus' comes from the *lemmata* of the manuscripts, see H. G. Krause, 'Das Constitutum Constantini im Schisma von 1054', *Aus Kirche und Reich: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, ed. H. Mordek (Sigmaringen, 1983), 131, n. 3.

⁶⁴⁵ CPG 244; B. Studer, s. v. Silvestro I Papa, in A. di Berardino, ed., *Nuovo dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiana* 3, Milan 2010, c. 4938; R. J. Loenertz, 'Actus Sylvestri. Genèse d'une légende', *RHE* 70 (1975), 426–439; T. Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri. Genesi di una leggenda su Costantino imperatore* (Spoleto, 2006).

Constantine the Great and the story about the emperor's gifts (recorded in the *Donation of Constantine*, or *Constitutum Constantini*) to the papacy on this occasion were originally two separate narratives. According to the second chapter of the fifth-century *Actus Silvestri*, after defeating Licinius and becoming the sole emperor, Constantine the Great fell into leprosy. Being still pagan, he consulted pagan *sacerdotes* who counselled to have a bath in the blood of three thousand infants. Peter and Paul, as the story continues, appeared in a dream to the emperor and suggested that he be baptised. Constantine decided to do so and turned to Sylvester, bishop of Rome. Sylvester performed the ritual in the Lateran Palace and Constantine recovered from his illness.

The probably eighth-century *Constitutum Constantini* is the continuation of the *Actus*, revealing Constantine's largess towards Sylvester after the emperor's recovery.⁶⁴⁶ Constantine donated the Lateran Palace to the bishop. In addition to this, the emperor made a concession for Sylvester and his clergy to use imperial *insignia*, together with all imperial clothes, the sceptre, and the trappings. Constantine declared that Sylvester had the right to appoint members of the clergy and at the end of the *Donation* the emperor revealed his plan to locate the new capital in Constantinople.

1.4. THE USE OF THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

1.4.1. POPE LEO IX'S *LIBELLUS*

Around the year 1000, the Normans appeared in Southern Italy. Their steady advance northwards in the 1040s entailed an alliance between emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055) and pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054).⁶⁴⁷ In order to strengthen the political initiatives Constantine IX also sought to reconcile the religious disagreement between the Greek and the Latin clergy in Southern Italy over issues of liturgy (azymes: the use of unleavened bread) and church discipline (clerical celibacy). The alliance was not successful from a military point of view, because the Byzantine army failed to appear at the right time and the papal army suffered a defeat from the Normans in 1053 at Civitate. The pope was imprisoned in Benevento, nevertheless, he sought further alliance with Byzantium. Constantine IX was also open for cooperation, because the pope's disposition was crucial for his Italian policy. At the same time, the religious conflict took serious dimensions when Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1043–1058), closed the Latin

⁶⁴⁶ On the *Donation of Constantine* see most recently J. Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini. The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and its Original Meaning* (Berlin, 2007); and G. W. Bowersock's introduction, Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, transl. G. W. Bowersock, Cambridge-London 2008, vii–xvii. For a detailed bibliography on the *Constitutum*, see: D. Angelov, 'The Donation of Constantine and the Church in Late Byzantium', *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, ed. D. Angelov (Kalamazoo, 2009), 94–95 and 240–241. For the historiography of the date and place of the *Donation's* production, see: *ibidem* 138, n. 3.

⁶⁴⁷ G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), 61–70; A. Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit*, 52–63.

churches of the capital (at the end of 1052–at the beginning of 1053). Concurrently, Leo, archbishop of Ohrid, encouraged by patriarch Keroularios, addressed a letter to John, archbishop of Trani, in Southern Italy. Leo accused the ‘Latins’ for observing Jewish rites through the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread. The letter was passed to the papal confidant Humbert of Silva Candida who translated the letter and presented it to pope Leo IX. The pope was a prisoner of the Normans in Benevento, nonetheless, he addressed Leo of Ohrid and patriarch Keroularios in a letter as a reply in September 1053.

Leo IX’s letter entitled *In terra pax*, contained the *Donation of Constantine*.⁶⁴⁸ Based on the text of the *Donation*, Leo IX neither raised claim on the highest secular authority in the West (only in the city of Rome and the *patrimonium Petri*), nor he discussed the relationship of temporal and ecclesiastical power, *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. This was a later development in the West during the pontificate of Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), and Urban II (r. 1088–1099). Leo IX’s aim was to demonstrate the papacy’s superiority over the patriarchate of Constantinople. Leo IX based his claim on a plethora of scriptural arguments. These had already been utilised in the context of pro-papal treatises: Saint Peter is the rock upon which the church is built (*Mt* 16: 18–19), and people had to yield to God’s power (*Rom* 13:1–5). The new argument of the pope’s letter was a quotation from the *First Letter* of Peter (1–2; 2, 9–10): ‘scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia [...] you are the elected stock, the royal priesthood, the holy people of God’.⁶⁴⁹ Peter’s *First Letter* applies the expression of ‘royal priesthood’ [Gr. βασιλειον ιεράτευμα, Lat. regale sacerdotium] expression from the Old Testament⁶⁵⁰ to the baptised Christians as a whole. Pope Leo IX used the idea to denote the papacy which was, according to his view, hold in contempt by Eastern Christians:

You restrain neither the love towards God and the brethren, nor the reverence of the divine canons to publicly rebuke and execrate ‘the elected stock, the royal priesthood, the holy people’.

⁶⁴⁸ W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld *et al.*, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Graz, 1956) 1 § 4302; see also: R. L. Loenertz, ‘Constitutum Constantini. Destination, destinataires, auteur, date’, *Aevum* 48 (1974), 200; The critical edition of the *Libellus*’ text has not been published. Two studies delineate the relationship between the different textual versions: H. G. Krause, ‘Das Constitutum Constantini’, for his observations on the manuscript tradition, see his review of H. Hoesch, *Die kanonischen Quellen im Werk Humberts von Moyenmoutier*, *HZ* 217 (1974), 671–77; and A. Michel, ‘Lateinische Aktenstücke und -sammlungen zum griechischen Schisma (1053/54)’, *HJ* 60 (1940), 46–64. The different *lectiones*, in my view, neither concern this paper’s particular problem on imperial insignia and papal vestments, nor does the *Libellus* deviate from earlier versions of the *Constitutum Constantini* in those passages which are relevant to this study. Therefore, I hereby used the version which is in use today and edited in *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. Cornelius Will (Leipzig, 1861, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1963), 65–85 (*Libellus* hereafter). Theodore Balsamon’s Greek translation derives from a ‘Southern-Italian collection’ of the manuscript tradition for which see Michel, ‘Lateinische Aktenstücke’, esp. 62–64.

⁶⁴⁹ *New English Bible* (New York, 1961).

⁶⁵⁰ *Ex* 19, 6.

Vos vero nec amor Dei et proximi nec reverentia divinorum canonum [...] revocat, quin publice maledicatis et detestemini *genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gentemque sanctam* (1 Pet 2)".⁶⁵¹

When addressing patriarch Keroularios Leo IX claimed:

These and a number of other attestations have to satisfy you concerning the secular and heavenly power, moreover the royal priesthood of the holy and apostolic see of Rome.

His et aliis quamplurimis testimoniis jam vobis satisfactum esse debuit de terreno et coelesti imperio, immo de regali sacerdotio Sanctae Romanae et apostolicae sedis.⁶⁵²

As the strongest argument after these words the pope quoted in full the *Constitutum Constantini* in order to demonstrate the royal origins of the papal office. With this argument, Leo IX intended to state that 'Constantine had not left Rome as a spiritual power distinct from the temporal power which had emigrated to another capital. As a result [the Roman church] was not subject to the *iudicium* of other churches or of the emperor himself'.⁶⁵³

1.4.2. THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE AND PATRIARCH MICHAEL KEROULARIOS

It is debated, however, in the literature if the *Libellus*, and thus the *Donation*, indeed reached Michael Keroularios and when it was translated from Latin to Greek.⁶⁵⁴ Most recently Dimiter Angelov claimed that Keroularios was aware of the content of the *Constitutum* and the *Libellus* was translated into Greek after the confrontation between the Byzantine prelate and the pope took place, that is after 1054.⁶⁵⁵ Angelov based his reasoning on two arguments. First, contemporary textual and artistic evidence suggests a familiarity with the *Constitutum Constantini* in the public discourse on the relationship of temporal and ecclesiastical power. According to *Scylitzes Continuatus*' testimony, patriarch Michael Keroularios used imperial insignia to express his authority as opposed to that of the emperor.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵¹ *Libellus* 71.

⁶⁵² *Libellus* 72.

⁶⁵³ G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, New York, 2003), 240.

⁶⁵⁴ F. Tinnefeld, 'Michael Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058): Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie', *JÖB* 39 (1989), 95–127, esp. 105–109, leaves the question open. The 'Southern-Italian collection' which was the basis of Theodore Balsamon's Greek translation was gathered in the 1070s after which the first Greek translation could have been produced, see Angelov, 'Donation', 95.

⁶⁵⁵ Angelov, 'Donation', 95. The most meticulous analysis in this respect is that of Hans-Georg Krause, see Krause, 'Das *Constitutum Constantini*', 153–156. In Krause's view Patriarch Keroularios did not know the content of the *Donation* which was labeled as the overinterpretation of the evidence by Dimiter Angelov. G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 240–241 also argued for Keroularios' familiarity with the content of the *Constitutum Constantini*.

⁶⁵⁶ As parallel evidence for the use of clothes, John Zonaras used imperial clothing for the (negative) characterisation of emperors, see e. g. the headdress as the token of arrogance in the case of Basil II: *Zon.*

[The patriarch] went as far as to wear sandals dyed purple claiming that this was a custom of the ancient priesthood and that the hierarch ought to preserve the usage in the new, too, because between the priesthood and the empire there was no difference, or only a negligible difference. Ἐπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ κοκκοβαφῇ περιβαλέσθαι πέδιλα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱερωσύνης φάσκων εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος καὶ δεῖν τούτοις κἂν τῇ νέᾳ κεχρηῆσθαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα. Ἱερωσύνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ διαφέρον οὐδεν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλεγεν εἶναι.⁶⁵⁷

The *Vatican Psalter* gr. 752 preserved miniatures about pope Sylvester acting with the Old Testament King David.⁶⁵⁸ Ioli Kalavrezou argued for the identification of Sylvester with Michael Keroularios and David with Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055) and Isaac Komnenos (r. 1057–1059).

The second argument of Angelov in favour of the hypothesis that Keroularios was aware of the *Donation* is Theodore Balsamon's (1130–1195) testimony. The earliest surviving Greek translation of the *Donation* of Constantine comes from his pen.⁶⁵⁹ In the later redaction of the *Commentary on the Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*, he wrote:

For the Second Council [that is the First Council of Constantinople in 381] gave all the privileges of the pope of Rome to the Constantinopolitan patriarch, some of the patriarchs, such as lord Michael Keroularios tried to pride themselves on the pope's rights.

ὅτι δὲ ἡ δευτέρα σύνοδος δέδωκε τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὰ προνόμια πάντα τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, ἐπεχείρησαν τινὲς τῶν πατριαρχῶν ὡς ὁ Κηρουλάριος ἐκεῖνος κύρ Μιχαήλ [...] τῆς αὐτῆς ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι προνομίοις.⁶⁶⁰

3:566.11–567.6; R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, 'The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism', *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 129.

⁶⁵⁷ *Scyl. Cont.* 105. See also M. Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Pérez-Martin, *Historia* (Madrid, 2002), 60; and *Ep. Ker.* 26. Michael Keroularios did not use the insignia mentioned in the *Donatio*, but all sources refer only to the purple sandals. The *Constitutum*, however, mentioned that Constantine conceded all the imperial clothes for the use of the pope (Ch. 14) which could be the basis of the use of the purple sandals by the Patriarch.

⁶⁵⁸ Fol. 142v, Psalm 42; Fol. 148r, Psalm 44, see E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III, Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752* (Princeton, 1942).

⁶⁵⁹ Published in Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma* 1:145–48 (reprinted in W. Ohnsorge, 'Das Constitutum Constantini und seine Entstehung', *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1966), 108–22). It has to be noted that Balsamon's commentary on the *Donation of Constantine* dates to a later redaction of his work, which could be produced after 1179. Balsamon's first glosses on the *Donation* are fragmentary and remain unpublished under the binding of codex *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 384, see Angelov, 'Donation', 127–129. The image, which one might draw about imperial priesthood, is different in the two redactions: see G. Dagron, 'Le caractère sacerdotal de la royauté d'après les commentaires canoniques de XIIe siècle', *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12 αἰῶνα: κανονικὸ δίκαιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 165–78.

⁶⁶⁰ Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma* 1:147. During the twelfth century the *Donation* was used in anti-Latin polemics, and also appeared in the historical work of John Kinnamos: see P. Alexander, 'The Donation of Constantine at Byzantium and its Earliest Use Against the Western Empire', *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, Vol. 1. (Belgrade, 1963), 19–22.

Angelov's arguments are important from our point of view, because they testify that the *Donation* influenced the eleventh-century political discourse and was used explicitly in the twelfth century.

patriarch Keroularios wore imperial insignia and with his self-representation, he gave an interpretation to the relationship of temporal and ecclesiastical power, *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, βασιλεία and ἱερωσύνη. With respect to the ecclesiastical power, patriarch Keroularios interpreted his priesthood as the 'new one', opposed to the 'old'. The old priesthood, as it can be argued on the basis of stipulations of canon law and as it was understood also by Theodore Balsamon in the twelfth century, might refer to the bishop of the old Rome, the pope. The see of the new Rome, that of Constantinople, is presided by the patriarch.⁶⁶¹

With regard to the temporal power, Michael Keroularios not only compared his patriarchate to the priesthood of the pope, but gave an imperial, or royal dimension to it.⁶⁶² Probably, it was the *Constitutum Constantini* which encouraged the patriarch to use those imperial prerogatives which were recorded in the document. This explains Keroularios' use of imperial insignia. Furthermore, when analysing patriarch Keroularios' treatment of the temporal or earthly power, his personal ambition has to be taken into consideration as well. Before his election to the patriarchal throne in 1040, Keroularios devised a plot against Michael IV (r. 1034–1041) which failed. The plan was to arrest the emperor and replace him with Michael Keroularios himself.⁶⁶³ The patriarch played a central role in the fall of Michael VI Stratiotikos (r. 1056–1057) and in the enthronisation of Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–1059).⁶⁶⁴ Michael VI failed to promote a group of generals from Asia Minor who subsequently plotted against him.⁶⁶⁵ Their ringleader was Isaac Komnenos who had to gain the support of the army, the people of Constantinople, the church, and the Senate. Albeit the military aristocracy was divided, important families, such as the Argyroi and the Dalassenoi, favoured Isaac. The most powerful person in the capital was patriarch Keroularios enjoying the support of the populace and the guilds in addition to that of the church due to his office. The patriarch convinced Michael VI to abdicate; afterwards he roused the anger of the populace against intimates and dignitaries of the ex-emperor. The bloodshed convinced the Senate to buttress Isaac's position. On 1 September 1057 Isaac made his entry into Constantinople and patriarch Keroularios crowned him. The coronation confirmed Isaac's position as a *usurpator* after his plot.⁶⁶⁶ Patriarch Michael Keroularios was aware of the fact that he played an important role in establishing Isaac's reign as

⁶⁶¹ It can be argued on a canonical basis, such as *Canon* 3 of Constantinople (381), *Canon* 28 of Chalcedon (451), or *Canon* 36 of the synod of Trullo (692); see also Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 242.

⁶⁶² Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 236–238.

⁶⁶³ *Psell. ep. Ker.* 414–15.

⁶⁶⁴ Tinnefeld, 'Michael I. Kerullarios', 120–122.

⁶⁶⁵ Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State*, 597–598.

⁶⁶⁶ Malamut, *Alexis*, 36.

it is attested by *Scylitzes Continuatus*.⁶⁶⁷ Therefore, despite the fact that the expression ‘royal priesthood’ is not mentioned literally in the sources concerning Michael Keroularios, the patriarch definitely considered his *ἱερωσύνη* close to *βασιλεία*. In practice this significantly influenced imperial politics.

1.5. THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE AND *THE DREAM OF THOMAS THE DEACON*

1.5.1. IMPERIAL CLOTHES

After some observations on the *Donation of Constantine*, I focus on the interpretation of Thomas’ dream in the following pages. A comparison of Leo’s imperial clothing in Thomas’ dream with corresponding elements in the *Libellus*’ text may facilitate a better understanding of the dream’s message. Thomas saw Leo wearing clothes which gave the cleric an imperial appearance (*βασιλικὴν στολὴν περιβαλλόμενον*). Chapter 14 of the *Libellus* described pope Sylvester as a prelate possessing imperial clothes:

We donate to our father, the blessed Sylvester, *summus pontifex* and universal pope of Rome, and all his successors [...] our imperial palace in the Lateran, [...] In addition to this, the diadem, or crown of our head, together with the *phrygium* and the *superhumerales*, that is *lorus*, which is usually put on the emperor’s shoulder; the purple mantle, the *tunica coccinea*, all the imperial clothes, the dignity of the imperial mounted guards, also giving the imperial sceptre with all the ensigns, banners, and different imperial equipments, the entire procession of the imperial head, and the glory of our *potestas*.

Concedimus beato Silvestro patri nostro, summo pontifici et universali urbis Romae papae, et omnibus eius successoribus pontificibus, [...] palatium imperii nostri Lateranense [...] deinde etiam diadema videlicet coronam capitis nostri simulque phrygium necnon et superhumerales, videlicet lorum, quod imperiale circumdare assolet collum; verum etiam et chlamydem purpuream atque tunicam coccineam et omnia imperialia indumenta, sed et dignitatem imperialium praesidentium equitum, conferentes etiam imperialia sceptrum simulque cuncta signa atque banda etiam et diversa ornamenta imperialia et omnem processionem imperialis culminis et gloriam potestatis nostrae.⁶⁶⁸

This was the passage which the author of the dream had in mind when writing about Leo’s ‘imperial’ vestments. Compared to Michael Keroularios, the patriarch did not wear any of the items

⁶⁶⁷ The chronicler recorded his rude words, *Scyl. Cont.* 105: I established you, oven, in order to destroy you. Ἐγὼ σὲ ἔκτισα, φοῦρνε, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ χαλάσω.

⁶⁶⁸ *Libellus* 74.

enlisted, but only the imperial baskins, as it is attested by contemporary sources. But in the case of Leo the evidence is more straightforward.

1.5.2. A GREAT GOLDEN HEADBAND

Thomas described Leo as having a great golden headband around his head (καὶ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτιθέντα μέγιστον χρυσοῦν φακιόλιον). The φακιόλιον (Lat. *faciale*) means a cloth for the head which Christ wore during his Passion. On the other hand, it denoted a headband used by desert fathers and women.⁶⁶⁹ The ninth-century *Lexicon* of patriarch Photios (r. 858–867 and 877–886) testified a special meaning under the headword κίδαρις. The κίδαρις was ‘a diadem, forming part of Jewish high priest’s headdress’.⁶⁷⁰ According to Photios’ *Lexicon*, the ‘*Kidaris*: a headband, or a cover (pending) from the hair; or a type of *kalamaukion* which you know as *tiara*, but some people call as *kidaris*, or crown, or *phakiolion*. Κίδαρις: περίθεμα κεφαλῆς ἢ ἐκ τῆς τριχὸς ὕφασμα ἥτοι εἶδος καλαμανκίου, ὃ καὶ τιάρα νοεῖτε τινὲς δὲ κίδαριν λέγουσι [...] ἢ στέφανον ἢ φακιόλιον.’⁶⁷¹ The καλαμανκίον (Lat. *camelaucum*) designated the headdress of the pope in the eighth century.⁶⁷² Photios used rather the word *tiara* for this, as the *lemma* says. Thus, among others, the φακιόλιον is the synonym of the papal headwear. Chapter 16 of the *Libellus* reads as follows:

We decreed therefore that our venerable father, the same Sylvester, the *summus pontifex*, and all his successors have to use a diadem, that is a crown made from pure gold and precious stones, which we gave him from our head, and they have to wear it for God’s glory to demonstrate the honour of Saint Peter. But the same most holy pope cannot use an entirely golden crown upon the clerical crown which he bears for the sake of Saint Peter’s glory.

Decrevimus itaque et hoc, ut idem venerabilis pater noster, Silvester summus pontifex, vel omnes ei succedentes pontifices, diademate, videlicet corona, quam ex capite nostro illi concessimus, ex auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosis uti debeant et in capite ad laudem Dei pro honore beati Petro gestare. [...] Ipse vero beatissimus papa super coronam clericatus, quam gerit ad gloriam beati Petri, omnino ipsa ex auro non est passus uti corona.⁶⁷³

The great golden crown in Thomas’ dream might be a parallel to the ‘crown made from pure gold

⁶⁶⁹ *LSJ* 1913 s. v. ‘φακιάλιον’, and, *Lampe* 1469 s. v. ‘φακιόλιον’.

⁶⁷⁰ *Lampe* 753 s. v. ‘κίδαρις’.

⁶⁷¹ Photios, *Lexicon*, ed. Th. Christos, *Photii patriarchae Lexicon* (Berlin, 1998), Vol. 2, letter κ, p. 217.

⁶⁷² H. Norris, *Church Vestments. Their Origin and Development* (Mineola, N. Y., 2002³), 97–98; M. de Waha, ‘Entre Byzance et l’Occident’, in L. H. Misguich *et al.*, ed., *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, (Brussels, 1982), 405–419; A. Maloof, ‘The Eastern Origin of the Papal Tiara’, *Eastern Churches Review* 1 (1966–1967), 146–149.

⁶⁷³ *Libellus* 73–74.

and precious stones', the 'clerical crown' of the pope.

1.5.3. ROYAL PRIESTHOOD

The third expression which needs assessment in Thomas' dream and which is also present in the *Libellus*, are the words 'βασιλείον ιεράτευμα'. The Latin equivalent of this expression: 'regale sacerdotium' was a central notion in pope Leo IX's *Libellus*, as it has been demonstrated above.⁶⁷⁴ As I have already noticed, for patriarch Keroularios, the priesthood was close to imperial power and he made claims for 'imperial priesthood'. In the late eleventh century to address the clergymen as 'βασιλείον ιεράτευμα' was part of the practice. Alexios I, according to the testimony of a *semeioma*, addressed the *synodos endemousa* as 'God's holy people, the divine priestly body. ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιος κλῆρος, τὸ βασιλείον ιεράτευμα'.⁶⁷⁵ The *synodos endemousa* was the advisory and arbitral body of the patriarch of Constantinople, consisting of those metropolitans who happened to be (ἐνδημοῦντες) in the capital.⁶⁷⁶ The ιεράτευμα here refers to a decision-making body⁶⁷⁷ and the βασιλείον can be rendered as divine,⁶⁷⁸ a synonym of ἅγιος, the preceding word in the address. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that in Thomas' dream Leo's priesthood was not qualified as 'holy', or 'divine', mirroring the collective sense of the expression.

On the contrary, I think that the use of the phrase 'royal priesthood' in the representation of Alexios I's and of the imperial family gave the background for Thomas' dream. Theophylaktos the court rhetorician and later archbishop of Ohrid (1050–after 1126), delivered an *enkomion* early 1088.⁶⁷⁹ The oration preserved the only passage which associates the Komnenian family with 'royal priesthood' during the reign of Alexios I.⁶⁸⁰ The addressee of the talk is the emperor, Alexios and, almost equally, her mother Anna Dalassene. This stemmed from the fact that Alexios during the first decade of his reign relied heavily on her mother, even appointing her regent when himself was absent from the capital.⁶⁸¹ Anna Dalassene conducted herself in a monastic manner and also tried to impose monastic habits in the imperial palace. Theophylaktos expressed admiration for

⁶⁷⁴ Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 239–247.

⁶⁷⁵ Grumel, 'Semeioma', 320.

⁶⁷⁶ ODB 1 697, s. v. 'endemousa synodos'.

⁶⁷⁷ Lampe 669, s. v. 'ιεράτευμα'.

⁶⁷⁸ LSJ 308 s.v. 'βασιλείος'.

⁶⁷⁹ Presumably 6 Jan 1088. For the passage, see Gautier, *Theophylacti opera*, 237, l. 17. For the dating of the *enkomion*: *ibidem*, 68–96. Smart assessments of the oration: M. Mullett, 'The Imperial Vocabulary of Alexios I Komnenos', *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett, D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), 359–397; Frankopan, 'Where Advice Meets Criticism', esp. 73–78.

⁶⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the presumably rich rhetorical production of the early Komnenian period did not survive, see Magdalino, *Manuel*, 414.

⁶⁸¹ PBW (2016) Anna 61 [<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Anna/61/>] consulted 09 Nov 2018; Dö. Reg. § 1073; B. Hill, 'Alexios I Komnenos and the Imperial Women', *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett, D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), 37–54.

this behaviour, praised the decency (εὐκοσμία) of the imperial palace and put the question: 'Is not it imperial priesthood itself?'⁶⁸² As events in the history of the Byzantine church during the first decade of Alexios' reign demonstrate, some members of the patriarchal clergy and part of the episcopal bench were not in accord with Theophylaktos' view and they considered Alexios rather as a harsh ruler than as an 'imperial' or 'royal' priest. The phrase 'βασιλείον ιεράτευμα' in Thomas' dream with the meaning 'imperial priesthood' stands in contrast to the representation of the Komnenian family expressed by Theophylaktos.

1.6. CONCLUSIONS

I assume that the person creating Thomas' dream had in mind the example of the *Constitutum Constantini* and the debate around Michael Keroularios on the relationship of emperor and patriarch which reminded him of the antagonism between Leo of Chalcedon and Alexios I Komnenos. Leo's imperial appearance, his headgear, and the description of Leo's priesthood as imperial confirm this assertion. The author probably used the *Libellus*, a Greek translation which is unknown today, or the *Libellus*' content spread by word of mouth.⁶⁸³ The wording of Thomas' dream reflects an author who wrote in a simple language and preferred scriptural and patristic quotations which can represent an ecclesiastical milieu.⁶⁸⁴ It can be assumed, following Angold's view, that the dream 'originated among Leo's supporters', but for all that, the evidence is inconclusive.⁶⁸⁵

However, its message was undoubtedly clear. Compared to Leo of Chalcedon, pope Leo IX asserted the superiority of the papacy to the patriarchate in ecclesiastical matters which stemmed from Constantine I's alleged concessions. Patriarch Keroularios, probably based on the same ground, contended that his office was close to that of the *basileus*, but the surviving sources did not describe Keroularios' priesthood as imperial. The case of Leo of Chalcedon is a step further: he was portrayed in Thomas' dream as an 'imperial' prelate. The question rises if Leo's representation in Thomas' dream was, at least partially, the self-representation of Leo himself.

The answer is negative. The prelate, as it has been already treated, exercised *parrhesia* from the beginning of the controversy and in his *Apology* appeared as a new defender of faith (*homologetes*). Nicholas of Hadrianople, Leo's protégé in his letter to Leo characterized his uncle as guardian of the church comparing him to Balaam, the Mesopotamian prophet in *Num* 22–24.⁶⁸⁶ According to the story king Balak after defeated by Israelite armies called Balaam the diviner to

⁶⁸² μήποτε τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ βασιλείον ιεράτευμα;

⁶⁸³ See Franz Tinnefeld's claim that Michael Keroularios knew the content of the *Donation of Constantine* by word of mouth, Tinnefeld, 'Michael I. Kerullarios', 105–7.

⁶⁸⁴ See my small *apparatus* to Thomas's dream above.

⁶⁸⁵ Angold, *Church and Society*, 48.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ep. Nic.* 412a l. 2–4; Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 118.

damn the Israelites. With the help of his ass, Balaam realized that he cannot speak against a blessed nation, thus defying king Balak's will and wrath prophesied about the coming Saviour of the Hebrews. Hence, Nicholas talked about Leo as a divinely inspired prophet talking back to those assaulting the 'truth' and the church. In his letters to his confidant Maria of Bulgaria and to Patriarch Nicholas III, Leo compared himself to John the Baptist and his cause to that of the blameless Jesus whom Pilate fustigated.⁶⁸⁷ These examples demonstrate that the bishop of Chalcedon had a prophetic conscience as a defender of faith, but he has been portrayed as an 'imperial prelate' only in *The Dream of Thomas the Deacon*.⁶⁸⁸

In addition to this, the dream-description is more instructive from another aspect. During the period of Leo's exile, the prelate was still popular in Constantinople, moreover, his banishment brought about the contention that Leo could appear as a holy prelate, therefore, traces of the cult of a saintly person can be identified. Leo of Chalcedon's alleged apparition at the battlefield of Distra which Anna Komnene recorded in the *Alexiad* backs up this idea. This is the topic of the next section.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ep. Patr.* 405b. l. 9–2, *Ep. Mar.* 404b. l. 3–14.

⁶⁸⁸ Grumel, 'Les documents athonites', 127–132.

2. THE APPARITION OF LEO OF CHALCEDON AT THE BATTLE OF DRISTRA (1087)

In August 1087 Alexios I Komnenos led a military campaign against the Pechenegs to the borderlands of Thrace in the Lower Danube region.⁶⁸⁹ His troops were utterly defeated, the emperor was injured, and the commanders of the army suggested withdrawal. George Palaiologos, the brother-in-law of the *basileus*, also fled. Anna Komnene recorded the events in her *Alexiad*.⁶⁹⁰

And Palaiologos that day while his brigades were routed in flight, fell from his horse and lost it. Being in a desperate situation and seeing the danger looming over his head, he looked around to see whether he could find his horse anywhere. [Then] he set his eyes on Leo, bishop of Chalcedon, [...] who was wearing a priestly robe and gave a horse to Palaiologos. [The commander] mounted the horse and had the chance to flee. Palaiologos could not see that man anymore, who seemed to be a saintly person.

ὁ δὲ Παλαιολόγος ἐν τῷ φεῦγειν τῶν ταγμάτων ἡττηθέντων κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην κατενεχθεὶς τοῦ ἵππου ἀπώλεσε τοῦτον. ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ δὲ ὦν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἰστάμενον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὁρῶν περιαθρήσας εἶ που γένοιτό οἱ τοῦτον θεάσασθαι, ὁρᾷ τὸν τῆς Χαλκηδόνος πρόεδρον Λέοντα [...] τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένον ἵππον ἐπιδιδόντα αὐτῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιβάς εἶχετο τῆς φυγῆς· τὸν δὲ ἱεροπρεπῆ ἐκείνον ἄνδρα οὐκέτι τεθέαται.⁶⁹¹

The holy man saved the life of a Byzantine general in a battle that had already been lost. It is not particularly obvious why Anna Komnene should include this kind of imagery in her history, or what narrative purpose the episode might serve. Why would the princess cast a banished, controversial Byzantine prelate as the mediator of divine help in the aftermath of one of the greatest military disasters of her father's reign? Did the princess conform to a fossilised

⁶⁸⁹ This section is the slightly modified version of the paper: P. Bara, 'The Apparition of Leo of Chalcedon. Anna Komnene's Reproduction of a Lost Family Account of the Doukai', *Transmitting and Circulating in the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds*, eds. M. Ivanova and H. Jeffery (Leiden, Boston, 2019/2020), 199–223.

⁶⁹⁰ A highly selective set of starting points as an introduction to the *Alexiad*: Anna Komnene: *The Alexiad* trans. Georgina Buckler and Peter Frankopan, (London, 2009). Anna Komnene as a female author: L. A. Neville, *Anna Komnene: The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (Oxford, 2016). For an overarching literary approach to the work, see G. Buckler, *Anna Komnene. A Study* (London 1929), P. Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene: Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth* (Cambridge, 2014). Concerning the structure of the *Alexiad*: J. Chrysostomides, 'A Byzantine Historian: Anna Komnene', *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), 30–46. On authorship and use of sources: Th. Gouma-Peterson, ed., *Anna Komnene and her Times* (New York, 2000). In lieu of the missing commentary on the *Alexiad*, see the German translation by Reinsch: D. R. Reinsch, trans., *Anna Komnene: Alexias*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2001).

⁶⁹¹ *Al.* 7.4.1.

hagiographical tradition and transmit one of its element without modification? Anna Komnene seldom inserted passages into her historical work that mirrored characteristics of hagiographical narratives. In addition to the passage under analysis, only two visions in dreams and one other apparition are mentioned by the historian.⁶⁹²

Modern scholarship has not supplied a satisfactory analysis of the passage. It has been asserted that she had used dreams and apparitions to ‘underline the providential destiny of the hero and the Orthodoxy of his faith in divine Providence’.⁶⁹³ Dion Smythe observed that Anna had created a hagiographical atmosphere and that the metropolitan was here portrayed in a more favourable light than in Book 5, in which details of Leo’s controversy with Alexios I are provided.⁶⁹⁴ Penelope Buckley argued that Leo’s apparition is ‘deeply traditional: the idea of the holy man, saint or angel who intervenes in battle on the Byzantine side has been sanctioned as part of the empire’s armoury since Herakleios at least. [Anna Komnene] treats the phenomenon with respect’.⁶⁹⁵ Buckley sees the scenario as the narratological means by which Anna expressed that tenets of the traditional Byzantine piety prevailed over Alexios as a savage soldier-emperor, for whom religiosity was of secondary importance. Thus, Buckley regards the *Alexiad* as a historical work in which Alexios I experiences personal development: he transforms from a soldier-emperor to ultimately become a second Constantine, a thirteenth Apostle in the course of his reign.⁶⁹⁶ Buckley notes this that in the course of this narrative in Books 7 and 8; ‘Alexios is not the chief bearer of Byzantine pieties’.⁶⁹⁷

I believe that Anna Komnene was not in accord with the view that Alexios I lost the battle at Distras due to his less orthodox conduct. This was in fact the opinion of eleventh-, and twelfth-century Byzantines to whom Anna replied when she composed the passage. Modern research has failed to recognise this discourse, and therefore reflected only on some of its elements. In my view,

⁶⁹² I will treat those passages below. The phenomenon itself is not surprising, since the Komnenian epoch was not the golden age of hagiography and some intellectuals rejected even the paradigm of the holy man; see Magdalino, ‘Holy Man’, 51–66; and S. Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1 (Farnham, Burlington, 2011), 143.

⁶⁹³ Magdalino, ‘The Historiography of Dreaming’, 132–133.

⁶⁹⁴ Smythe, ‘Alexios and the Heretics’, 257.

⁶⁹⁵ Buckley, *Alexiad*, 156.

⁶⁹⁶ Penelope Buckley should be praised here for her pioneering attempt at giving an overarching explanatory model for the entire *Alexiad*, the first after Georgina Buckler’s monograph (see above p. 131). Critiques regarding her attempt focused especially on her methodology. For Buckley’s critique by Alexander Riehle, see *JÖB* 65 (2015), 262–264; he finds that ‘Insgesamt hat das Buch einer eher essayistischen als systematischen Charakter, was bei der Lektüre eines Werkes dieses Umfangs doch ermüdet und die Nachvollziehbarkeit und überprüfbarkeit der Thesen erschwert’. See also E. Mincin’s review: <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1672>, accessed 12 Dec 2016.

⁶⁹⁷ Buckley, *Alexiad*, 156.

the scene can be understood properly if one considers the circumstances of the *Alexiad*'s mid-twelfth-century composition and the late-eleventh-century milieu of the Pecheneg wars. In order to examine all elements, essential for the understanding of the passage, the subchapter is divided into four sections. First, I examine the apparition's source material and the context in which this source was produced. After this, the critique of John the Oxite, voiced in 1091, is surveyed. Third, the study connects the context of the apparition with that of the 1140s and pinpoints elements of the critique against the reign of Alexios I that could have influenced the composition of the passage by Anna Komnene. The investigation is closed by the claim that Anna Komnene used a 'double argumentation' and the apparition pertains only to one level of it.

2.1. THE SOURCE MATERIAL OF THE APPARITION AND ITS LATE ELEVENTH CENTURY CONTEXT

2.1.1. A LOST BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE

The apparition is embedded into a short excursus, or anecdote, on George Palaiologos. George Palaiologos became member of the Doukas family upon marrying Anna Doukaina. As a result of pressure from his mother-in-law, Maria of Bulgaria, he supported Alexios I's accession to the throne in 1081. Afterwards, Palaiologos became one of Alexios' most trusted generals.⁶⁹⁸ During the tenth and eleventh centuries, it was a customary practice to record deeds of great aristocratic soldiers and their families in the form of memoirs and biographies. This custom also continued into the twelfth century.⁶⁹⁹ Despite the fact that such works did not survive, this literature can be traced in extant historical works. Collecting scattered passages in the text of the *Alexiad*, Peter Frankopan has attempted to reconstruct a source narrating George Palaiologos' career.⁷⁰⁰ A monastic *typikon* from the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–1282) supports the view that detailed records existed concerning the Palaiologan family. The *typikon* directs the reader 'to orations and books

⁶⁹⁸ Frankopan, 'Kinship', 13.

⁶⁹⁹ Some samples from the literature on this topic: J. Shepard, 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catalan Cecaumenos', *REArm* 11 (1975–76), 269–311; Id., 'Byzantium's Last Sicilian Expedition: Scylitzes' Testimony', *RSBN* 24–26 (1977–79), 145–159; Id., 'A Suspected Source of John Scylitzes' Synopsis Historion: the Great Catalan Cecaumenos', *BMGRS* 19 (1992), 171–178; A. Markopoulos, 'Zu den Biographien des Nikephoros Phokas', *JÖB* 38 (1988), 225–233; Id., 'Η ιστοριογραφία των δυνατών κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Ο Ιωάννης Κοθρκούας στην ιστορική συγγραφή του πρωροσπαθάρου και κριτή Μανουήλ', *Parousia* 17–18 (2004–2005), 397–405; Id., 'From Narrative Historiography to Historical Biography. New Trends in Byzantine Historical Writing in the 10th–11th Centuries', *BZ* 102 (2009), 703–705; J. Ljubarskij, 'Nikephoros Phokas in Byzantine Historical Writing-Trace of the Secular Biography in Byzantium', *Bsl* 554 (1993), 245–253; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford, 2005), 255–297; L. A. Neville, 'A History of the Caesar John Doukas in Nikephoros Bryennios' Material for History?', *BMGRS* 32.2 (2008), 168–188; Ead., *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), 49–59.

⁷⁰⁰ P. Frankopan, 'Aristocratic Family Narratives in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. Tóth, I., Teresa M., C. (Cambridge, 2019), 317–335.

composed by the learned' to understand more about Michael VIII's ancestry.⁷⁰¹ Although we do not know when exactly these texts were written, Anna Komnene's work demonstrates a detailed knowledge of George Palaiologos' career that may be based on this written material.⁷⁰² The description of Leo of Chalcedon's apparition scenario could have reached Anna as part of this biographical source.

2.1.2. THE IMAGE OF THE HOLY PROTECTOR: LEO OF CHALCEDON AND GEORGE PALAIOLOGOS

In the apparition scenario, Anna Komnene portrays Leo, the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon, as a holy protector.⁷⁰³ As it is discussed in Chapter One, George Palaiologos was a fierce admirer and supporter of the prelate, along with some members of the Doukas-family. In particular, Maria of Bulgaria, Alexios I's mother-in-law, and George Palaiologos greatly respected Leo of Chalcedon.⁷⁰⁴ Leo's *Letter to Maria of Bulgaria* during his period of his exile suggests that Leo was Maria's spiritual father. Based on the letter, Leo also prayed regularly for the entire Doukas branch of the imperial family.

Anna Komnene portrayed Leo of Chalcedon as wearing a sacerdotal robe (τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένον), which indicated that he was a member of the church hierarchy in a broad sense.⁷⁰⁵ Paul Gautier interprets this as a sign of Leo's metropolitan status, that is to say Leo was not yet deposed from office at the time of the battle of Dristra.⁷⁰⁶ This could be the case, however, the evidence is not so straightforward as Leo's position in the church hierarchy was a matter of debate. Leo's deposition (καθαίρεσις) was only grudgingly accepted by his supporters, moreover, the

⁷⁰¹ H. Grégoire, 'Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua', *Byz* 29–30 (1959–60), 449: εἰς σοφῶν λόγους καὶ βιβλούς συγγραφικὰς.

⁷⁰² Anna Komnene is well informed about the careers of several generals. She claims in multiple passages to have received information from eyewitnesses, and she further notes that George Palaiologos was one of her chief informants (Al. 14.7.5). However, there is no evidence that Anna Komnene took notes during the family events, or in the *theatra*, the 'reading gatherings' that constituted the framework for oral performance of different literary works and, plausibly, of military memoirs in Komnenian Byzantium. Based on a growing scholarly consensus, it is reasonable to assume that Anna's pretended use of primary, especially oral, material (*autopsia*) conforms to the classical historiographical tradition, particularly that of Thucydides. She knows too many details about a large number of people that she presumably could not simply recall from memory. On this topic, see: K. Sinclair, 'Anna Komnene and her Sources for Military Affairs in the *Alexiad*', *Estudios bizantinos* 2 (2014), 143–185; D. R. Reinsch, 'Zur literarischen Leistungen des Anna Komnene', *Leimon: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jan O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1996), 113–125.

⁷⁰³ It is noteworthy that Anna Komnene gave an overview of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate in Book 5 (Al. 5.2), which is apologetic in tone with respect to Alexios and critical with respect to Leo of Chalcedon.

⁷⁰⁴ Grumel, 'Semeioma', 334.

⁷⁰⁵ Lampe 669, s. v. 'ἱερατικός', Cf. Gautier, 'Blachernes', 215 who considers that Leo was wearing an episcopal robe in Anna's description.

⁷⁰⁶ Gautier, 'Blachernes', 215.

prelate considered that his anointment had been still valid, even if he had been deposed and exiled.⁷⁰⁷

2.2. THE CRITIQUE OF JOHN THE OXITE

Simultaneously with the exile of Leo of Chalcedon, Alexios I's policy was attacked by another churchman - John IV the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch.⁷⁰⁸ In early 1091, the emperor faced enemies on two fronts. The Pechenegs approached the capital and arrived at a small fortress called Choirobakchoi, which was situated only a day's march from the capital.⁷⁰⁹ Tzachas, a Turkish commander, constructed a naval fleet at Smyrna and occupied a number of islands on the Aegean coastline from Rhodes to Mytilene. Tzachas proclaimed himself emperor and sought an alliance with the Pechenegs.⁷¹⁰ In the escalating situation, the emperor returned to the capital and assembled his advisors in late February, or early March, to draw upon the expertise of civilian and ecclesiastical leaders. John IV addressed the emperor in an oration, and made a written summary of his claims.⁷¹¹

John the Oxite's address is an outstanding example of *parrhesia*, the unrestricted expression of opinion in attendance upon a potentate. His address modulates harsh critique with praise, which may explain the further success of his career and the emperor's benevolence towards him. The prelate claimed in his speech that God had ceased to protect Byzantium because of the impiety of the people and the personal vices of Alexios I and his family.⁷¹² In John's view, the main failure of the people was that they had thought that all the evil befalling Byzantium had been the result of the working of natural forces which happen of themselves, and that they did not see God's hand in these events.⁷¹³ With regard to Alexios' role, John the Oxite contended that the situation of the

⁷⁰⁷ *Ep. Mar.* 404b l. 23–24: For I still remain a bishop, as before from the grace of the omnipotent God. μένω γὰρ καὶ ἔτι [...] ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς τὸ πρότερον χάριτι τοῦ πάντα δυναμένου Θεοῦ.

⁷⁰⁸ For John IV, the Oxite, *ODB* 2 1049 s. v. 'John IV (V) Oxeites'; P. Gautier, 'Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique', *REB* 22 (1964), pp. 128–157; P. Gautier, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB* 33 (1975), 77–132. John the Oxite was linked by J. Thomas to Leo of Chalcedon, as members of the same 'reform party' within the Byzantine church (Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 186–199). This view was, however, rejected by Paul Magdalino (Magdalino, *Manuel*, 271) and also by Michael Angold (Angold, *Church and Society*, 66).

⁷⁰⁹ *Al.* 8.1.1–5.

⁷¹⁰ *ODB* 3, 2134, s. v. 'Tzachas'; Frankopan, *The Foreign Policy*, 346–350; P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), 58–64.

⁷¹¹ That there was an assembly can be known from these documents. The oration and the written summary was reedited and published by P. Gautier: Gautier, 'Diatribes', 5–55. A comparative analysis is provided in: Frankopan, 'Where Advice Meets Criticism', 71–88.

⁷¹² Gautier, 'Diatribes', p. 21.

⁷¹³ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 21, l. 16–20: The majority of the people believed that maybe some kind of natural force, whose working happens of itself, or a fortuitous cause had merged the empire into the waves of

empire had deteriorated since Alexios' accession to the throne.⁷¹⁴ According to John, God also demonstrated his pity for Alexios I Komnenos before his accession to the throne through miracles.⁷¹⁵

However, after the new dynasty started to wield power, a number of shortcomings could be attributed to Alexios and the imperial family. First, Alexios came to power as a usurper and his troops pillaged Constantinople upon their entry.⁷¹⁶ The way in which the extended Komnenian family ruled was a disaster for the polity: members of the imperial family cared only about their own fortune.⁷¹⁷ The *basileus* should have chosen more honest men for high-level positions, not his relatives.⁷¹⁸ In addition to this, when the *basileus* faced the Norman threat and suffered losses from Bohemond, neither did he see this as a warning from God, nor did he repent.⁷¹⁹ Instead, Alexios rather placed confidence in troops, armies and humans means.⁷²⁰ Third, the Komnenoi imposed a heavy taxation system on their subjects, and the comportment of local *archontes* and tax collectors was unbearable.⁷²¹ The peasants suffered and they did not know where to flee.⁷²² Fourth, due to the accession of the new dynasty, the affairs of the church also deteriorated. Alexios confiscated church valuables and gave ecclesiastical institutions into *epidosis*.⁷²³ Moreover, in the process of confiscation, bishops and the clergy were maltreated and assaulted.⁷²⁴ Furthermore, all these

difficulties. Thus, I heard some people saying that it was destined to be so, therefore it happened. Others think that God only cares for the salvation of our souls, thereby allowing that way the issues of the world just to happen by chance. I think that these are lies and perverse opinion of some people that the Lord of all with thousands of testimonies from the Scripture refute. οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ τινὰ ἴσως αὐτοματισμὸν ἢ ἀποκλήρωσιν ὥντο τὴν οἰκομένην τοῖς τῶν συμφορῶν νῦν περικλύζεσθαι ρεύμασιν. Ἦκουσα οὖν ἐγὼ τινῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἔμελλεν ἄρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἔσεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γίνεται, ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ δοξαζόντων μόνῃς τὸν Θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας κήδεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν, τὰ δ' ἐν κόσμῳ πράγματα οὕτως ὡς ἂν τύχῃ φέρεσθαι καταλείπειν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ψευδεῖς ἡγοῦμαι τε καὶ κακοδόξους ἐνίων δόξας τὸν τῶν ὅλων πρῦτανιν ἐξελέγχοντα μετὰ μυρίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς μαρτυριῶν.

⁷¹⁴ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 25, l. 26–31; 27, l. 1–3.

⁷¹⁵ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 37, l. 13–16: There are a number of trustworthy tokens of God's pity upon you. Incredible miracles which occurred, and those especially in the most difficult moments. Miracles which took place earlier on many occasions particularly for your sake. εἴσι σοι πολλὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ἐχέγγυα· αἱ ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου παράδοξοι θεοσημίαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς περιστατικοῖς τῶν καιρῶν· τὰ εἰς αὐτόν σε πολλάκις πρότερον θαυματουργηθέντα.

⁷¹⁶ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 29, l. 1–5.

⁷¹⁷ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 21; 23; 41 l. 18–20.

⁷¹⁸ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 43 l. 16–20.

⁷¹⁹ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 29, l. 1–5.

⁷²⁰ John alludes here to Ps 143:6–8 (LXX).

⁷²¹ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 31, l. 9–15.

⁷²² Gautier, 'Diatribes', 35, l. 24.

⁷²³ On the term, see M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), 153 fn. 77.

⁷²⁴ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 35 l. 15–17; 33 l. 1–4; 33 l. 10–12.

events resulted in that the Pechenegs and Tzachas' navy arrived to punish Byzantium as αἱ τῶν κακῶν Ἰλιάδαι.⁷²⁵

The prelate advised Alexios, his family and the people to profoundly repent.⁷²⁶ John also emphasised the importance of philanthropy for an emperor.⁷²⁷ Moreover, the patriarch suggested turning to the Theotokos in the Blachernai. John reminded Alexios that with the help of the miraculous *maphorion* of the Blachernai church in 860 the invading Rus' army had been turned away from the city walls.⁷²⁸ The written summary of the oration put particular emphasis on the words of the Psalmist:

If we are forced to do battle, let Christ himself be the commander and chief of the *tagmata*, and no one of our enemies could humble us, saying with the Psalmist: 'these with their chariots, others with their horses, but we will be made powerful with the name of our Lord (Ps 19.8 LXX)'. εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ στρατεύειν ἡναγκαζόμεθα, στρατάρχης ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ συνταγματάρχης καὶ ἐν τῷ μηδενὶ ἂν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν ἐταπείνου ὥστε καὶ λέγειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ ψάλλοντος δύνασθαι· οὗτοι ἐν ἄρμασιν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ἵπποις, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Θεοῦ μεγαλυνθησόμεθα'.⁷²⁹

Did the critique of John the Oxite fall upon deaf ears? The source material allows one to make some observations about the Komnenian family. First, one might wonder whether Alexios I, the addressee of the talk, might have drawn some conclusions. As Peter Frankopan has observed, from 1090 onwards, critical voices were raised against the *basileus* that did not come from his enemies, but from the circle of his intimates. John's oration is the precursor of internal turmoil that manifested in a series of plots by family members. Whether or not it was John's critique against Alexios' family government, a group of individuals, such as John Doukas, George Palaiologos, Adrian Komnenos, and Nikephoros Melissenos was silently replaced by another group of intimates from the end of the eleventh century.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁵ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 31 l. 5.

⁷²⁶ Gautier, 'Diatribes', p. 37.

⁷²⁷ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 43, l. 26–27.

⁷²⁸ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 39, l. 23–27.

⁷²⁹ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 51, l. 13–17.

⁷³⁰ Frankopan, 'Where Advice Meets Criticism', 86, 88. In the light of John's suggestion of imperial *philanthropia* it is also worth considering that it was Alexios I Komnenos who restored the Orphanotropheion of Zotikos which supported the poor, orphans and the elderly. Nevertheless, the Orphanage belongs chronologically to the latter part of Alexios' reign, slightly before 1104 at the earliest, so if its foundation was affected in any way by John the Oxite's views, this can only be considered as a long-term influence.

Another close family member of Alexios is named by John in the oration: this is Isaac, the *sebastokrator* and Alexios' brother.⁷³¹ The orator characterised Isaac as an expert in theology and in the interpretation of the Scripture.⁷³² John seems to designate Isaac with the task of tackling with the vices of the Byzantines on the level of a *litteratus*. A look at the *sebastokrator*'s works confirm that Isaac was, on the one hand, the *amateur* of patristic authors, especially Maximos the Confessor.⁷³³ On the other hand, Proklos' *Ten Problems concerning Providence* is known to a substantial degree by way of the excerpts that Isaac compiled from Proklos' original.⁷³⁴ Isaac reworked Proklos' treatise into a more Christianised form, while maintaining its original structure.⁷³⁵ The main aim of Proklos was to argue for the existence of providence and describe its nature in ten points (*aporiai*). The lack of belief in divine providence decried by John the Oxite, together with his address to Isaac, might have provided an impetus for the *sebastokrator* to turn to Proklos and approach the misfortunes that had befallen Byzantium since the accession of the Komnenian dynasty in a scientific way.⁷³⁶

The third family member who might have been influenced by John the Oxite's claims was Anna Komnene. Before examining the connection between the *Alexiad* and John the Oxite's address, the twelfth-century context should be examined, too, in which Anna wrote her work.

2.3. THE KOMNENIAN ICONOCLAST CONTROVERSY AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE *ALEXIAD*

Based on her own statement, it is a well-known fact that Anna Komnene wrote the bulk of the *Alexiad* after 1143, the year of Manuel I Komnenos' succession.⁷³⁷ Anna stated that Leo's

⁷³¹ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 37 l. 36, 39 l. 7.

⁷³² For his personage, see: PBW (consulted 7 Dec 2016) Isaakios 61, [http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107449]. Isaac presided over the synod condemning John Italos. He also tried to attack Leo of Chalcedon's theory on icons, yet without success. Moreover, the *sebastokrator* also acted as a chairman during the trial against Basil the Bogomil. Anna Komnene, her husband, Nikephoros Bryennos and later Nikephoros Basilakios characterised Isaac as a man of learning who made the palace another Academia or Peripatos.

⁷³³ C. Steel, 'Un admirateur de Saint Maxime à la cour des Comnènes: Isaac le Sébastocrator', *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, 1980, ed. Felix Heinzer (Freiburg, 1982), 365–373.

⁷³⁴ William of Moerbeke's thirteenth-century Latin translation preserves the best version of the Greek text of Proklos. Plutarch, Philophonos and Michael Psellos are the main Greek sources for the text aside from Isaakos the *sebastokrator*'s excerpts. Johannes Dornseif, *Isaak Sebastokrator, Zehn Aporien über die Vorsehung* (Meisenheim-Glan, 1966); James J. Rizo, *Isaakios Sebastokrator, Περί τῆς τῶν κακῶν ὑποστάσεως* (Meisenheim-Glan, 1971); Proklos' edition: *Proklos: Tria Opuscula. Griechische Retroversion mit Kommentar*, ed. Benedikt Strobel (Berlin, Boston, 2011).

⁷³⁵ *Proclus: Ten Problems Concerning Providence*, trans. Jan Opsomer and Carlos Steel (London, 2014), p. 60.

⁷³⁶ I have not found any evidence in the secondary literature that might establish a connection between Isaac's work and the oration by John the Oxite.

Al. 14. 7. 5–6. Paul Magdalino has emphasised that the blossoming encomiastic literature after Alexios' reign served as a significant stimulus for Anna to preserve a decent and fitting memory of her father. The eulogists

controversy still bore repercussions at the time she composed the *Alexiad*. It can be inferred that neither Leo's *parrhesia* nor his claim that the emperors were impious, were the reason for this.⁷³⁸ The Komnenian Iconoclast Debate originated from the alienation of church property caused by Alexios' strategy of managing the Norman (and later the Pecheneg) invasion. The description of the events in the *Alexiad* starts with the scene in the Hagia Sophia where Isaac the *sebastokrator* entered and forced the *synodos endemousa* and the clergy of the Great Church to allow the rulers to confiscate church property that was no longer in use.⁷³⁹

The original proposal was passed. This became the subject of a very serious accusation against the emperors [...], not only on that occasion, but even for a long time.

τὰ δεδογμένα ἐκράτει. τοῦτο ὕλη μεγίστης κατηγορίας τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐγένετο [...] οὐ τότε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι καιροῦ διαρκέσασα.⁷⁴⁰

The scanty evidence that can be culled from different sources portrays the alienation in a greater dimension, as it has been already treated. During the confiscation some bishops were seriously assaulted and sent into prison when they tried to protect the episcopal treasury.⁷⁴¹ In Book 5 of the *Alexiad*, Anna Komnene used every occasion to express that her father had expropriated only a small number of objects; she carefully listed the institutions that were subject to confiscation and how they were compensated for their losses.⁷⁴² Later in his reign, Alexios attempted to strengthen the financial basis of the episcopate.⁷⁴³ However, compared to Alexios I's harsh treatment of the church in the first decade of his rule and taking into account his more lenient approach afterwards, Manuel I made extraordinary donations to the church in the first half

of the new emperors compared John II and Manuel I to Alexios I and, as a result of dynastic development, the son and the grandson surpassed the grandfather in the eyes of the encomiasts, see P. Magdalino, 'The Pen of the Aunt: Echoes of the Mid-twelfth Century in the *Alexiad*', *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. Th. Gouma-Peterson (New York, 2000), 15–45.

⁷³⁸ Alexios and his family were implicitly compared to iconoclast emperors by other critics, such as John the Oxite and Niketas of Ankyra. Although Niketas of Ankyra abdicated from his see, John existed within the system, serving in the important position of the patriarch of Antioch. See Magdalino, *Manuel*, 268–274.

⁷³⁹ *Al.* 5.2.

⁷⁴⁰ *Al.* 5.2.4.

⁷⁴¹ Gautier, 'Diatribes', 31.

⁷⁴² *Al.* 5.2; 6.3.5.

⁷⁴³ *Dar. Reg.* § 952 for the metropolitan of Kyzikos. The emperor confirmed that prelates could collect the *kanonikon*, the tax for their pastoral duties, not only from the clergy, but also from laymen. Moreover, Alexios was eager to return episcopal lands and properties that had been given to lay and ecclesiastical owners as *kharistike*. On the topic, see Angold, *Church and Society*, 45–73.

of his reign.⁷⁴⁴ The excessive concessions evoked reactions from Manuel I's ecclesiastical encomiasts.⁷⁴⁵ Michael of Anchialos, later patriarch of Constantinople, called on the metropolitans to extoll Manuel's lavish gifts to the church that were, in his words, visible everywhere.⁷⁴⁶ Michael the Rhetor maintained that the *basileus* was more eager in supporting the church than any of his predecessors.⁷⁴⁷ It is not surprising that accusations were raised against Alexios I's policies towards the Church, since it provided easy contrast to that of Manuel I.

In the autumns of 1149 and 1150, Manuel I led successful campaigns against Serbia and Hungary. Michael of Anchialos and Michael the Rhetor not only praised Manuel I as a protector of the church, but they were also the chief informants for the emperor's military operations. The churchmen praised the *basileus* for confronting an entire contingent of the enemy alone, for defeating Bakchinos, the Hungarian commander, in a single combat and saving John Kantakouzenos' life. I believe that Anna Komnene's presentation of the battle of Dristra in the *Alexiad* has been influenced by this context.⁷⁴⁸ Anna singled out similar scenes for emphasis when

⁷⁴⁴ It has been noted that there is a change in Manuel's dealing with the church. This started in 1147 and took its final form in 1166. The Byzantine church was divided by factionalism and the young emperor realised that his involvement in the affairs of the church was necessary. From 1147 onwards, Manuel adopted the title *epistemonarches*, that is, 'chief scientific expert', in the government of the church. His interventions were occasioned by internal conflicts within the church that took shape under the guise of theological debates and were apparent from the frequent changes of patriarchs. One way in which the *basileus* attempted to gain the church's favour, especially until 1158, was through fiscal generosity. The most detailed treatment of the topic: N. G. Svoronos, 'Un rescrit inédit de Manuel Ier Comnène', *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London, 1973), No. vii.

⁷⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that posterity is aware of Manuel's donations to the church from the orations presented above and from references in the commentaries on canon law by Theodore Balsamon, who was also an ecclesiastic. Other encomiasts extolled Manuel's virtues, but not in the field of church policy. For another source for the campaigns of 1150–early 1151, see Manganeios Prodromos' Poems No. 41, 27, 49, 48 and especially 1 and 2. I am particularly grateful to Elisabeth and Michael Jeffreys who allowed me to consult their forthcoming edition of Manganeios Prodromos.

⁷⁴⁶ R. Browning, 'A New Source on Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Balk St* 2 (1961), 196: O, of what happiness, or rather to say of what largesse! [Manuel] filled all that pertains to the holy lords and he worked for them so eagerly. Come here, o height of the saintly hierarchy, who are in charge of the mystical services, all-hallowed stewards of grace, raise your voice and as with a trumpet spread the news of the imperial magnificence, of the divine zeal, of his deeds which are visible everywhere. ὦ πόσης εὐδαιμονίας, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀγαθουργίας, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐνέπλησε καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δειπονήθη φιλοτιμότερον· καὶ δεῦρο ἢ τῆς θείας ἱεραρχίας ἀκρότης, οἱ τελετάρχαι τῆς μυστικῆς ἀγιοτείας, οἱ παναγεῖς οἰκονόμοι τῆς χάριτος, ὑψώσατε φωνήν, ὡς ἐν σάλπιγγι τὰς αὐκρατορικὰς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἀνακηρύξατε, τὸν θεῖον ζῆλον, τῶν ἔργων τὴν περιφάνειαν. The oration was recently dated to early 1151, I. Polemis, 'Notes on the Inaugural Oration of the Patriarch Michael of Anchialos', *Bsl* 1–2 (2011), pp. 162–172.

⁷⁴⁷ *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum, Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae*, 2 vols., ed. Vasilij. E. Regel (Leipzig, 1982), 1: 138, l. 16: ὑπ' οὐδενὸς βεσιλέων κατορθωθέντα μεγαλουργήματα. The oration was delivered in 1152, see: *ibid.*, 1: xviii.

⁷⁴⁸ The question requires a more detailed treatment which would surpass the limits and scope of this section. I plan to publish my views in a separate article.

relating narratives about the battle: Alexios heroically rally at and cut through the battle line of the nomads alone when escaping the battle, defeated three Pechenegs alone and saved the life of Michael Doukas while chased by the enemy. Therefore, in my view, Anna's presentation of the battle at Dristra, the narrative unit including Leo's apparition, preserved an image of Alexios I that was created through the continuous comparison with the image of Manuel I who was presented as enjoying victory upon victory and being extremely generous to the church.

2.3.1. REACTIONS TO JOHN THE OXITE IN THE *ALEXIAD*

This context of emulation, likely effected various assessments of the reign of Alexios. It is likely that critiques which had been raised against Alexios during his reign surfaced again. It is probable that not only the confiscation of church property, about which one has Anna's direct testimony, disparaged the image of the late Alexios. It can be inferred from indirect statements in the *Alexiad* that John the Oxite's claim that Alexios' conduct had entailed God's punishment was also circulating in the twelfth century. Anna Komnene seems to counter the critique of the Antiochene patriarch. In her closing remarks on Alexios' Pecheneg campaigns, the princess admitted that 'God humbled the pride of the Romans' upon the occasion of the battle of Dristra.⁷⁴⁹ Anna quoted the same *Psalms* 19 almost literally (my italics below), as John the Oxite did in his address, but with a different emphasis. John the Oxite used the passage to prove that Alexios did not have confidence in God, but rather in his army. Anna's account argues for the contrary. On the eve of Alexios' final victory over the nomads near Lebounion in 1091, the entire army walked with torches and sang hymns beseeching God for help. Anna Komnene noticed the following:

⁷⁴⁹ Al. 8.5.8–9: A whole people, not numbered in tens of thousands, but in countless multitudes, with their women and children, was utterly wiped out on that day [...] and many also had been taken captive [...] It was an amazing sight to anyone who recollects how in the old days our soldiers left Byzantium to fight these Scyths, buying ropes and leather thongs with which to bind their Scythian prisoners, only to be captured themselves and put into chains by the enemy. That was what happened when we fought them near Dristra, for on that occasion God humbled the pride of the Romans; but later, at the time I am now dealing with [...] he [God] granted them the victory beyond all expectation, so that they enchained and massacred and took captive their enemies. ἔθνος ὅλον, οὐ μυριάθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἀριθμὸν ἅπαντα ὑπερβαῖνον, σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἄρδην κατὰ ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπολωλός [...] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζωγρία ἐλήφθησαν [...] καὶ ἦν τῷ κατανοοῦντι θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι πῶς οἱ πάλαι κατὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐξερχόμενοι καλῶδια τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξωνούμενοι καὶ ἱμάντας, δι' ὧν δεσμώτας ἄγοιεν τοὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐαλωκότας, τοῦναντίον πεπόνθασιν αὐτοὶ τὲ παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐαλωκότες καὶ δεσμῶται γενόμενοι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τότε, ὁπηνίκα κατὰ τὴν Δρίστραν ὁ μετὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν γέγονε πόλεμος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ φρύαγμα τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθεῖλε Θεός. ἐν ὑστέροις δέ, καθ' ὃν ὑφηγοῦμαι καιρόν, ὁπηνίκα περιδεεῖς τούτους ἔγνω καὶ τὰς σφζούσας ἀπολωλεκότας ἐλπίδας πρὸς τοσαῦτα πλήθη μὴ ἐξισχύοντας, τὴν νίκην παραδόξως ἐχαρίσατο τούτοις, ὥς καὶ δεσμεῖν καὶ σφάττειν καὶ ζωγρίαν ἄγειν τοὺς Σκύθας.

The fact that the emperor did not believe he could attack the enemy without the help of God is proof, I think, of his piety, for *his confidence was placed in neither men, nor horses, nor machines of war, but all his faith rested in the power of the Lord on High.*

ἐκ τούτου δ' οἶμαι τεκμαίρεσθαι χρὴ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν, ὥς ἄρα τὰς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς προσβολὰς οὐκ ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπαρωγῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις καὶ στρατηγικαῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ οὗτος ἐθάρρει, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν τῇ ἄνω ροπῇ ἐδίδου.⁷⁵⁰

Throughout Book 7 and 8, in which Alexios' conflict with the Pechenegs is presented, the princess emphasises the role of God's help. In the battle of Dristra and until the end of the war, the name of God, providence and divine intervention systematically recur.⁷⁵¹ The reader of Anna's account of Alexios' Pecheneg campaigns has the impression that the emperor proved to be superior at the end, because God helped him. Leo of Chalcedon's apparition should be read as an important element in this series of events that meant to testify God's support. Moreover, if Leo's scene is read in the light of John the Oxite's charges, certain elements seem to be countered by the presence of Leo's apparition in Anna's description.

First, the presence of Leo's scene in the battle is in contrast with John the Oxite's critique on the lack of miracles since Alexios' enter to power. However, a reader of the *Alexiad* would have a different impression. By and large, Anna recorded only a few miraculous events that, nevertheless, did not end with Alexios' accession.⁷⁵² Second, the princess put particular emphasis

⁷⁵⁰ *Al.* 8.5.3.

⁷⁵¹ Before the battle, despite the fact that a number of military actions took place, God's name is mentioned only twice: first in the description of the Younger Bryennios' *ethos*, and second, during the negotiations with the nomads (*Al.* 7.2.6 and 7.2.7). In the battle of Dristra Alexios I is portrayed with the *maphorion* of the Theotokos in his hands, which creates the impression of Mary's tutelage of the *basileus*, or at least the intention from the ruler's side to have the Theotokos be his guardian (*Al.* 7.3.9). Alexios begins his escape from the battle, rushing upon the enemy and cutting through the Scythian lines, with a call for God's help (*Al.* 7.3.10). After the ruler's escape, Georgios Palaiologos flees from the hands of the pursuing Pechenegs with divine intervention, through the personage of Leo of Chalcedon (*Al.* 7.4.1). Book 8 opens with Alexios' victory at Cheirobachoi, where he rode out with the help of God (*Al.* 8.1–3). Before the final clash with the nomads at Lebounion, the Byzantine army forms great procession to beg for divine aid (*Al.* 8.5.3–4). The account of the Pecheneg wars ended with the battle of Lebounion. Alexios successfully defeated the Pechenegs in Cuman alliance and the princess attributed the victory to God.

⁷⁵² Anna Komnene recorded the following miraculous events: the apparition of John, the Evangelist to Alexios at Karpianos, on the eve of Alexios' accession (*Al.* 2. 7.4–7); the apparition of Demetrios of Thessalonike in Alexios' dream foretelling the *basileus*' victory over Bohemond (*Al.* 5.5.6.); the apparition of John the Evangelist in a dream to Basil, eparch of Constantinople (*Al.* 12.4.1–4); and the apparition of Leo of Chalcedon to George Palaiologos. The apparitions of Demetrios to Alexios and John the Evangelist to Basil in dreams both have the narrative function of underlining Alexios' destiny of prevailing over the Norman threat. Demetrios' apparition is presented in connection to Alexios' battle and victory over Bohemond's

on the participation and bravery of Alexios' close family members when presenting the battle of Dristra. The description covers five subchapters in Book 7 (7.3.5–7.3.9). Of these subchapters only one gives information about what happened in the battle (7.3.8), and one deals with the preparations (7.3.5). The other three are dedicated to members of the Komnenian family: one to the deeds and escape of Alexios I (7.3.9), and two to other family members (7.3.7–8). Anna related about details of the battle lines and singled out one by one who were present in the battle. The 'catalogue' of the blood relatives in the description of the battle of Dristra gives the impression in the reader that they played the only role in the battle and that their efforts were more than heroic.⁷⁵³ This is in sharp contrast with John the Oxite's fiery oration as he saw the Komnenian family policy as an administrative disaster for the empire and Alexios' relatives as a group raising God's wrath. Leo of Chalcedon's intervention further adds to Anna's catalogue in the religious aspect and conveys that God's wrath was out of the question.

Furthermore, the apparition scenario also balances the image of Alexios as confiscator of church valuables. In Book 5, Anna Komnene portrayed Leo of Chalcedon as a harsh, arrogant, uneducated prelate. In the aftermath of the battle of Dristra, Leo was cast as a simple-minded and genuine person who was banished only due to his inexperience in canon law. The spokesperson against imperial confiscation is portrayed as a holy man who supports the imperial family. Those characteristics of Leo are centred such that the image of Alexios as being heavy-handed with the church cannot be supported.⁷⁵⁴

2.3.2. THE APPARITION SCENE AS PART OF ANNA KOMNENE'S 'DOUBLE ARGUMENTATION'

Thus, I argue that Anna Komnene tried to refute the claims that his father had been impious. Furthermore, I believe that she made counterarguments on two levels. The first level is the one I

forces in April 1083. On the interpretation of these events, see Magdalino, 'The Historiography of Dreaming in Medieval Byzantium', 133.

⁷⁵³ This can be explained by the fact that throughout the *Alexiad*, the chronicler portrays Alexios I in the circle of people 'related to the emperor by blood and marriage. τῶν ἐξ αἵματος καὶ ἀγχιστείας [τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος]'. Anna depicts an imperial family united around Alexios, without bringing attention to internal tensions, thereby stressing the capability of her father to maintain a balance within the larger imperial family, which was also challenging to Alexios' successors. On the topic, see: Frankopan, 'Kinship', 14.

⁷⁵⁴ The apparent contradiction between Leo of Chalcedon's portrayal in Book 5 and Book 7 can be explained with the difference between the view of Anna who disliked the prelate (Book 5) and that of the Doukai and Leo's other supporters (Book 7) who considered Leo a holy man. Peter Frankopan bolsters this idea: Frankopan, 'Aristocratic Family Narratives', 331–332. Anna arranged her sources material in a way that sometimes antagonising elements remained in the text which has already been pinpointed: Buckley, *Alexiad*, 156.

have presented so far: promoting an image of a pious *basileus* and a religious imperial family. The apparition of Leo pertains to this level of reasoning: rebutting John's claims using part of the worldviews of the prelate and reflecting upon his and probably other contemporaries' theory of God's punishment of Byzantium.⁷⁵⁵ However, a closer look at Anna Komnene's closing authorial comment on Leo's apparition scenario may suggest a different approach to the events from the perspective of the princess. After narrating the apparition and giving a short overview of Leo's character, Anna Komnene closed the scene with the following words: 'I do not know⁷⁵⁶ whether Palaiologos merited a divine apparition, because he so fiercely believed in that man, or the divine providence demonstrated something else, a secret thing, by means of this bishop'.⁷⁵⁷

The central phrase of the passage from our point of view is 'the secret thing', the ἀπόρρητον of the providence that was demonstrated through this bishop. The comparison of Anna's presentation of the battle of Dristra with the methodology of the polymath Michael Psellos (1018–ca. 1081) as a historian, casts light on Anna's method of writing history and suggests that the *Alexiad* is a more complex text than previously acknowledged.⁷⁵⁸

The word ἀπόρρητον was used by Michael Psellos to denote biblical and Christian mysteries and to describe the secrets of profane learning.⁷⁵⁹ As a historian, Psellos claimed that he had all events depend on divine providence.⁷⁶⁰ Psellos casts himself into a light that could lead his reader to see him as attributing the cause of events simply to the realm of God. However, another passage in his *Chronographia* gives insight into a more complex method of writing history. According to Michael Psellos' opinion, a historian must be a poet, orator, and a philosopher at the same time to provide an adequate account of the events.⁷⁶¹ The task of the philosopher is to find the rational

⁷⁵⁵ This led Penelope Buckley to evaluate Leo's apparition scenario as 'traditional' and to assess Anna as a historian accepting that worldview.

⁷⁵⁶ An elliptic expression also added by Kambylis and Reinsch.

⁷⁵⁷ *Al.* 7.4.1, εἴτε οὖν διὰ τὴν θερμωτάτην πίστιν τὴν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὁ Παλαιολόγος θείας ἔτυχεν ἐπιφανείας, εἴτ' ἄλλο τι ἦν τῆς προνοίας ἀπόρρητον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸ φαινόμενον.

⁷⁵⁸ Probably, the most influential author of the eleventh century whose works had already entered the literary canon in the twelfth century was Michael Psellos. An important shift in the transmission of Psellos' texts took place between the 1130s and 1150s and a particularly Psellian intellectual mode was in vogue. Anna Komnene was a central figure in this development; she used Psellos' works in the *Alexiad*, most extensively the *Chronographia*. On the topic, see A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2011), 225; St. Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos. Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2013), 254–259, esp. 256. On Anna's use of the *Chronographia*, see *Al.* 2: 266–268.

⁷⁵⁹ *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino, M. Mavroudi (Geneva, 2007), 16.

⁷⁶⁰ *Psell. Chron.* 4.30: Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰωθὼς εἰς τὴν τοῦ θείου πρόνοιαν τὰς περὶ τῶν μειζόνων διοικήσεις ἀνάγειν, ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ τᾷλλα ἐκείνης ἐξαρτῶν ὅποσα, μὴ παρατραπέισης ἡμῖν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως, γίνεται. On the interpretation of the passage with particular respect to the role of providence and human nature, see A. Kaldellis, *The Argument in Psellos' Chronographia* (Leiden, 1997), 101–109.

⁷⁶¹ *Psell. Chron.* 5.24.3–16.

causes (αἰτίαι ἔμφορονες) that lay behind the events that the polymath called ‘the most public mystery’.

Psellos used his skills in all three fields to form a narrative on Michael V Kalaphates’ (r. 1041–1042) reign and the revolt that led to his deposition. His method of solving the ‘most public mystery’ was exactly what he described as the task of the philosopher: to find out the immediate causes of the events. In the case of Michael V, this meant that without involving any divine element, Psellos stated that it had been Michael’s *ethos* that was the cause of his actions and his expulsion of Zoe from the palace that brought about his downfall. The example of the naval battle of 1043 between Constantine IX Monomachos and the invading Rus’ is also instructive, illustrating the supposition that natural causes lay behind the events of human history.⁷⁶²

Anna Komnene made a statement in Book 1 of the *Alexiad* that suggests a similar approach to history. Assessing the rise of Robert of Guiscard, she wrote:

I must show [...] to what heights of power the force of circumstances raised him, or rather, to speak more reverently, how far Providence allowed him to advance, indulging his ill-natured ambitions and scheming.

πρότερον δεῖ τὸν λόγον τὰ περὶ τούτου διηγῆσασθαι [...] εἰς οἷον κράτος καὶ ὕψος ἢ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦτον ἀνήνεγκε, μᾶλλον δε, ἴν’ εὐσεβέστερον φαίην, οὗ παρεχώρησε τοῦτον ἢ πρόνοια προελθεῖν ἐνδοῦσα πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου κακοτρόπους ὁρμὰς τε καὶ μηχανάς.⁷⁶³

It is noteworthy, on the one hand, that when narrating the events of Alexios’ campaigns against the Pechenegs, Anna emphasises the role of divine help, especially after the battle of Dristra, as I have already discussed. On the other hand, in a number of passages, the princess gave a highly pragmatic reason for the events, or concluded that the emperor was forced by necessity.⁷⁶⁴ Alexios, for instance, was not able to occupy the locality of Dristra, because the nomads defended it from a hilltop.⁷⁶⁵ The battle of Dristra was evenly balanced until the Byzantines became outnumbered with the arrival of 36 000 Pechenegs.⁷⁶⁶ Two passages regarding Anna’s presentation of the events are particularly instructive. First, after the initial clashes and Nikolaos Maurokatakalon’s victory, the *basileus* launched his campaign against the nomads leading an army himself and sending George Euphorbenos with the fleet via the Danube.⁷⁶⁷ The Pechenegs realised

⁷⁶² *Psell. Chron.* 6.94–95; Kaldellis, *Argument*, 107.

⁷⁶³ *Al.* 1.10.3.

⁷⁶⁴ The analysis on the role of necessity (ἀνάγκη) in Anna Komnene’s theory of history is a *desideratum*.

⁷⁶⁵ *Al.* 7.3.2.

⁷⁶⁶ *Al.* 7.3.9.

⁷⁶⁷ *Al.* 7.2.7–7.3.1.

that they could not fight a two-front war and therefore negotiated for peace. Alexios, using the eclipse of the Sun, rejected the request from the Pecheneg envoys and had them brought to the capital as prisoners. The nomads, however, killed their guards and escaped. Alexios immediately began his march against the Pechenegs. The emperor's plan was to defeat the Pechenegs step-by-step by facing smaller contingents one at a time. Anna singled out:

Unlike Atreus' son Agamemnon, he needed no dream to urge him to battle—he was longing for a fight. With his troops, he crossed Sidera and set up camp near the Bitzina river.

οὐκ ὄνειρου δεηθεὶς πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνοντος καθάπερ ποτε τὸν Ἀτρέως Ἀγαμέμνονα, ἀλλ' ἀναζέσας πρὸς μάχην καὶ τὴν Σιδηρᾶν μετὰ τῶν ταγμάτων διελθὼν τὸν χάρακα περὶ τὴν Βιτζίναν ἐπήξατο.⁷⁶⁸

The *basileus* decided that he had to fight, which, to the reader, may seem to be a logical consequence of the events detailed by the princess. Anna Komnene stressed that the *basileus* had been propelled by the circumstances; he would have otherwise faced such a multitude of the enemy that he would have been defeated. Compared to Anna's viewpoint, Theophylaktos of Ohrid, the court rhetorician, presented the same event as hot-headedness in an oration delivered approximately a year after the battle.⁷⁶⁹ The classical imagery used by Anna made it doubtful to involve the divine in military decision-making. The figure of the dreaming Agamemnon (Homeros, *Ilias*, 2.1–95), urged by a command of Zeus to launch an attack against the Trojans, is referenced here. Compared to the Alexios of Book 5 having a vision of the martyr Demetrios and attacking the Normans afterwards, the Alexios presented here is less pious and is rather led by reason. Anna seems to reject the role of the divine in the decision-making; yet, she uses pagan, not Christian, imagery.

The other example is the loss of the *omophorion* of the Blachernai Theotokos at the end of the battle at Dristra.⁷⁷⁰ This obviously delicate issue is worded by the most straightforward way to give the impression that there was no place here for divinity. Strong winds blew, and Alexios was physically unable to hold the standard. Moreover, one of the Scyths struck the emperor on his buttocks. The wind and the excruciating pain together hindered the *basileus* from bring the relic further and he hid it among the bushes. In the light of the passage, in which John the Oxite

⁷⁶⁸ Al. 7.3.1.

⁷⁶⁹ Gautier, 'Le discours', 219, l. 14–16. Theophylaktos of Ohrid accused Alexios I of hot-headedness and of poor decision-making that was guided by his desires. I am convinced that Anna Komnene also reacted to Theophylaktos of Ohrid's critique. I plan to address Anna's presentation of the battle of Dristra in more detail in a forthcoming article.

⁷⁷⁰ Al. 7.3.9.

suggested praying to the Theotokos of the Blachernai and proceed throughout the walls of the Queen of the cities, as it happened in 860, the presentation of Alexios' struggle and the loss of the relic conveys a clear message: despite Alexios brought the relic even to war, the circumstances prevailed. This is Anna Komnene's 'scientific' explanation as a historian of the high and low points of her father's Pecheneg campaigns. This interpretation was produced almost 60 years after the first reactions, as attested by John the Oxite's oration, and presumably, by Isaac the *sebastokrator*'s interest in Proklos' ten *Aporiai* concerning providence. It is reasonable to conclude that Anna Komnene did not agree with the view that God punished Byzantium during Alexios' Pecheneg campaigns. The princess, in my view, refuted this statement, arguing on the first level by using elements of the worldview of John the Oxite, whose critiques may have prompted her explanation. On the second level, Anna Komnene narrated the events in a way that presumably aligned with her own views on the naissane of history and using methods comparable to those of Michael Psellos.

2.4.CONCLUSION

Why did Anna Komnene circulate a family account about George Palaiologos, an apparition scenario as part of her description of the battle of Dristra? With this passage, another aspect of the Komnenian Iconoclast Debate was stressed: its spokesperson, Leo of Chalcedon, aided the imperial family. This was a narrative that required elaboration as opposed to a brief allusion, since Anna's audience was acquainted with an image of Alexios as a poor defender of the Church in contrast to his generous grandson Manuel. Moreover, the princess refuted the prevailing view that God punished Alexios I during the Pecheneg campaigns by presenting a close family member in receipt of divine help. This reading offers an alternative to Penelope Buckley's interpretation that Anna Komnene accepted the narrative of divine punishment first propagated by John the Oxite. Anna does however acknowledge that mundane circumstances did lead to catastrophe at Dristra. The princess used a highly traditional Byzantine hagiographical account, embedded it into a sophisticated narrative framework to broadcast a message which was undoubtedly a novelty or *kainotomia*: not only the agency of Divine Providence, but the simple sequence of events effects the course of history.

CONCLUSIONS: LEO AND THE NEW 'GUARDIANS OF ORTHODOXY'

This thesis focused on the personage of Leo, the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon. At the same time, by virtue of its topic, the dissertation contributes to the study of episcopate and upper clergy under the Komnenoi. Therefore, I recapitulate my findings in a comparative perspective which connects the results to the phenomena of the Komnenian period.

As it has been presented in scholarship, the first part of the Komnenian epoch witnessed the transformation of the Byzantine church. There were central phenomena, or hot-spots which had different features at the beginning and during the later part of the epoch. Elements of the 'new' model did not count as novelty in Byzantium, but were characteristic features of the Komnenian period and crystallised during the reign of John II Komnenos (r. 1118–1143). The most important elements of the change can be summarised in five points. First, members of the church hierarchy became dominant in the religious scene; they were protagonists in maintaining official orthodoxy and the entire cultural and religious agenda of the second half of the Komnenian period. Second, the patriarchal clergy turned to be an important source of recruitment to the episcopate. Third, Alexios I's heavy-handed church policy entailed that the church was smoothly running under imperial control. Thus, the role of the emperor in overseeing the church was essential: in other words, the acceptance of imperial authority was a concomitant feature of ecclesiastical leadership. Fourth, the role of *paideia* was central, including classics, canon law, and rhetoric. The clergy were heavily involved in teaching and presenting the latter. Fifth, holy men, thus living saints, were regarded as social outsiders, presumably due to the political influence they might have exercised and their religiosity which was far from the main-stream 'bookish' orthodoxy of clergymen.⁷⁷¹

Leo was member of the leading member of the church and, similarly to his later colleagues during the Komnenian period, defined himself especially as the defender of orthodox faith as a *parrhesiastes* and *homologetes*. The first chapter argued that the metropolitan had acted in lieu of the weak patriarch Eustratios Garidas and Leo's actions in the course of the Komnenian Iconoclasm can be compared to the role of Kosmas I who abdicated after the Komnenoi entered power. Leo acted as the defender of Constantinople and that of the empire against the measures of Alexios I, who was, in his view, an impious *basileus*. Moreover, some of Leo's supporters portrayed the metropolitan as an imperial prelate in the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* which Leo himself did not opt

⁷⁷¹ A highly selective set of publication on the topics: Magdalino, 'Holy Man'; P. Magdalino, R. Macrides, 'The Fourth Kingdom', 117–118; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 316–412; Angold, *Church and Society*, 46–138. For the most recent overview, see: Roskilly, *Λογιώτατοι ποιμένες*.

for. Thomas' dream shows Leo and the emperor as competing pairs for power. The hypothesis explained in Chapter One about Leo as a protanogist in a group plotting against the emperor strengthens the metropolitan's political role which cannot be treated separately from the image of Leo as the arbiter and defender of orthodoxy. By contrast, the 'guardians of orthodoxy', to use Magdalino's wording,⁷⁷² acted as mediators between the emperor and his people, between the church and state, to maintain a smoothly running relationship, moreover, to promote the case of the emperor by broadcasting the content of victory bulletins.

Leo of Chalcedon was a holy man and metropolitan. It was a rare combination in late eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantium. As Paul Magdalino demonstrated, during the Komnenian epoch intellectuals viewed the question of holy men with suspicion.⁷⁷³ At the same time, the accounts of John Tzetzes, or that of Theodore Balsamon testify that holy men were present on the streets of Constantinople. A number of people, members of the populace, and of the wealthiest families alike, venerated hermits, monks, and ascetics.⁷⁷⁴ The hagiographic output of the Komnenian period, nonetheless, is quite meagre compared to the tenth, and early eleventh century and to the Palaiologan period.⁷⁷⁵ There is only a small number of *lives* which preserved the memory of holy bishops. Between 1172 and 1196 Michael Choniates (ca. 1140–1222) composed the funerary oration of his godfather Niketas, metropolitan of Chonai, whom Michael described as a saintly prelate.⁷⁷⁶ In addition to this, only two *vitae* recorded saintly bishops from the Komnenian period:⁷⁷⁷ a brief *life* of Gregory, bishop of Assos (BHG 710a) and that of Leontios, patriarch of Jerusalem (BHG 985).⁷⁷⁸ Both saints flourished during the mid-twelfth century and their *lives* were composed three decades later. As it is clear from Chapter One, George Palaiologos and Maria of Bulgaria acknowledged Leo of Chalcedon's virtuousness. As the *Dream of Thomas the Deacon* and the Dristra-account in the *Alexiad* documents, certain people were eager to promote Leo's holiness. A comparison with the case of Eustathios of Thessalonike (1115–1195) is instructive. Eustathios was

⁷⁷² Magdalino, *Manuel*, 316–412.

⁷⁷³ Magdalino, 'Holy Man', 52 and *passim*.

⁷⁷⁴ John Tzetzes, *Letter 104*, 151 l. 9–21, ed. P. A. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972); Theodore Balsamon, *Comment on Canon 60 of the Council of Trullo*, PG 137.716.

⁷⁷⁵ H. G. Beck observed this first (Beck, *Kirche*, 271), lastly it has been asserted by S. Paschalides in: Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1: 143.

⁷⁷⁶ Niketas was one of the heroes of Asia Minor who functioned as a prelate in the dangerous border zone during the mid-twelfth-century, see Magdalino, *Manuel*, 130–132. Niketas is portrayed as a prophet and visionary (Michael Choniates, *Enkomion of Niketas*, ed. S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα*, (Groningen, 1968²), 1:24–71, c. 24, 40, 109–112, a wonderworder (c. 117–122) who was capable of clairvoyance (113–115), as well. I plan to analyse the *Enkomion of Niketas* in a future publication, discussing the oration's dating, too.

⁷⁷⁷ In addition to these, only one *vita* praised a non-contemporary clergyman: the *life* of St Leonides, archbishop of Athens (BHG 984), written by Michael Choniates (1138–1222), metropolitan of Athens: see Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1: 158.

⁷⁷⁸ Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1:152.

one of the leading intellectuals in twelfth-century Constantinople, he delivered the funerary oration of Manuel I, and he was one of the important port-paroles of imperial victories. The polymath archbishop did not despise holiness in itself, but rejected the view that his contemporaries can become saints.⁷⁷⁹ Despite his views, miraculous healings were mentioned already in funerary oration delivered after 1195 which indicated that a local cult started after the death of the prelate.⁷⁸⁰ In comparison, Leo was already venerated as a saint during his lifetime. In the case of Leo of Chalcedon, it was his disloyalty which, presumably, put a ban on his further sanctification. With regard to Eustathios of Thessalonike, his veneration exceeded the limits of the local cult only during the changed circumstance of the thirteenth century.⁷⁸¹

Furthermore, Leo's network was different from those of Eustathios of Thessalonike, Michael Choniates, or that of Theophylaktos of Ohrid.⁷⁸² The *litterati* had a wide network of patrons, pupils, and colleagues, but one kind of relationship was absent from their network: spiritual kinship.⁷⁸³ This is the most remarkable difference from the network of Leo of Chalcedon who was in highly intimate relationship with some people, including the closest relatives of Alexios: Maria of Bulgaria, Eirene Doukaina, or George Palaiologos whom Theophylaktos approached as patrons in adulatory terms, or via other influential people. The *pepaideumenoι* did not exercise *parrhesia* in the way Leo did.

It was Leo's legal knowledge which showed a relatively little difference from that of the legal experts of the twelfth century. Since Leo in the *Apology* refuted stipulations of secular law by means of canonical and Biblical sources, his expertise in secular law is difficult to assess. Theodore Balsamon criticised John Zonaras for not using sources of secular law in satisfying quantity, furthermore, he presented himself as an analytical legal philologist.⁷⁸⁴ Compared to Theodore Balsamon, Leo of Chalcedon's legal method is more demonstrative than hermeneutical, using his sources to talk themselves. Leo's *Apology* shows that the Byzantine canonical tradition was central for Leo in his self-representation: the metropolitan, as a *homologetes*, defended its tenets, while its stipulations corroborated the prelate's authority when defending his standpoint. Leo's use of the canons presents a properly 'bookish' aspect of the metropolitan's religiosity, presumably much

⁷⁷⁹ See f. i. *Oration to a Stylite*, ed. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula*, 97. On his hagiographic works, see P. Bara, *Honouring the Righteous Champions*; on the eleventh-century debate about contemporary sainthood, see Paschalides, "Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος λόγος".

⁷⁸⁰ R. Browning, 'Eustathios of Thessalonike Revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40 (1995), 83. Eustathios was portrayed as a saint in frescoes which the Serbian ruler Milutin commissioned in the 1310s.

⁷⁸¹ See R. Macrides, 'Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period', *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (Crestwood, 2001), 67–88.

⁷⁸² For Michael Choniates' network, consult Roskilly, *Λογιώτατοι ποιμένες*, 316–323. In the case of Theophylaktos of Ohrid, Mullett's *Theophylact* is the magisterial study.

⁷⁸³ See Mullett, *Theophylact*, 177.

⁷⁸⁴ See Pennington, *Eastern Canon Law*, 178. esp. fn. 46.

more than his theological writings. The latter show the metropolitan as a faithful person who promoted the everyday religious practice with a one-sided theological theory.

As a final remark, I think that one looks for prelates in vain during the Komnenian twelfth century who were similar to Leo of Chalcedon in all roles which the metropolitan had exercised: being core member of the church, critic of the regime, expert of canon law, and a spiritual adviser.

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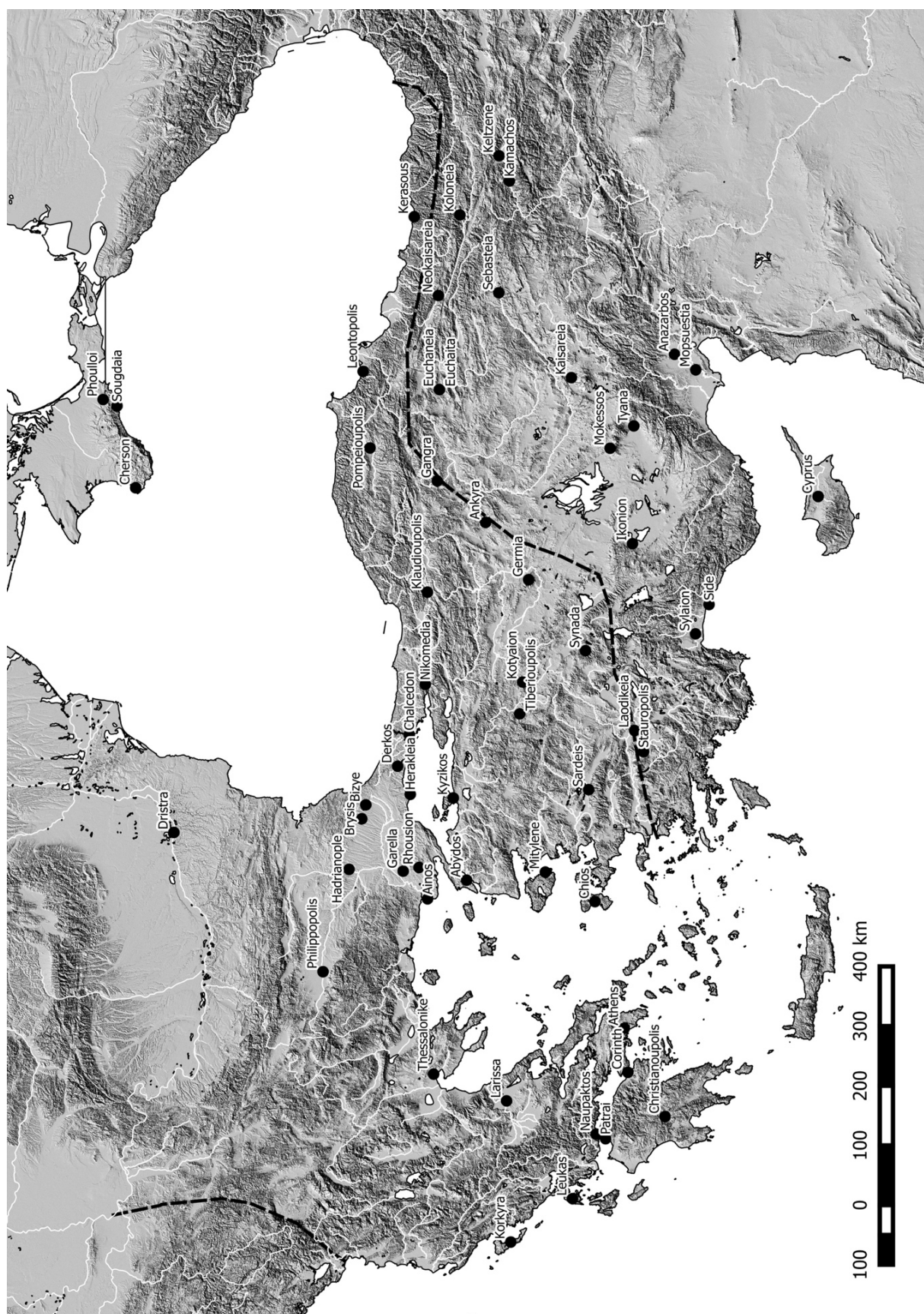
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

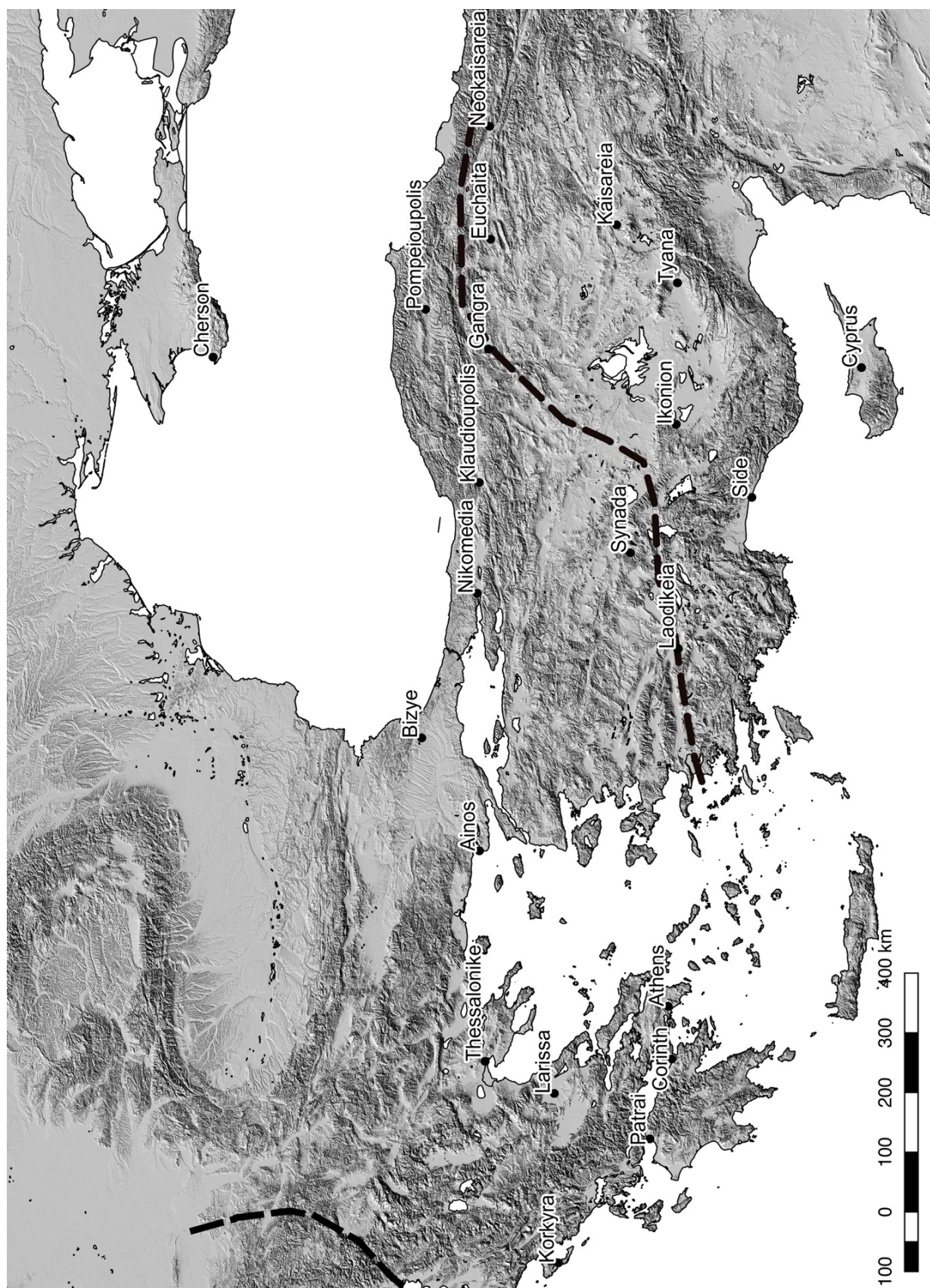
Map 1: Prelates participating in synodal sessions during the reign of Alexios I (1081–1118)¹



¹ For the details, consult Appendix 2.

Appendix 1

Map 2: Prelates taking part in sessions related to the Komnenian Iconoclasm



Appendix 1

Leo of Chalcedon, *Demonstration about the Icon of Christ*

Summary in Escor. Y. 2. 7. (262) f. 16r l.14–l. 27.

The summary came down to us in the same codex as Leo's *Apology*, the Escor. Y. 2. 7. (262) f. 16r, the folio prior to the first folio of the *Apologos*, contains the text. Even if the text is written continuously, I divided the summary into sections which follow the punctuation of the manuscript. The text is as follows:

α' Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τῆς εἰκόνης Χριστοῦ ὅτι μία ὑπόστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ, κεχωρισμένης οὐσίας τῆς εἰκονικῆς ὕλης.²

β' Καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς μιᾶς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποστάσεως μία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις καὶ τιμή.³

γ' Καὶ ὅτι ὁ προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου προσκυνεῖ τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

δ' Ἐκ τούτων δὲ πάντων νοεῖτον ὅτι καὶ ὁ καταλύων τὴν εἰκόνα ἐκουσίως ἢ ὀρθῶς πίστει καὶ καταλύει αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

ε' Καὶ ἐστὶ προφανὴς ἀσεβὴς καὶ εἰκονομάχος ὡς τὴν εἰκονικὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα διαιρεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρωτοτύπου.

ς' Καὶ οὐ σεβόμενος καὶ προσκύνων αὐτὴν φανερός ἐστιν εἰδωλολατρῆς ὡς τῇ κτίσει λατρεύει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.⁴

² *Ep. Nic.* 414a l. 43–44: Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡ εἰκονικὴ ὕλη ὕλη ἐστὶν ἀνατεθειμένη τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς θεῖον ἀνάθεμα καὶ ὁ χαρακτήρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, αὐτὸς Χριστός ἐστι καὶ Θεός· κεχωρισμένως τῆς ὕλης νοούμενος.

³ *Ep. Nic.* 414a l. 22–27: ὑμᾶς [...] τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις εἰκόσι προσκυνοῦντας οὐ τὰς εἰκονικὰς ὕλας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς ἱστορούμενον θεοῦπόστατον σωματικὸν χαρακτήρα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν [...] καὶ τὸν ὑπεράγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ χαρακτήρα, ἐν εἶναι λέγων ἀμφοτέρω.

⁴ *Ep. Patr.* 407a l. 25–30: ὁ καταλύσας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς πύλαις τῶν χαλκοπρατείων δώδεκα δεσποτικὰς ἐορτάς, οὐ προσεκύνει ἐν αὐταῖς τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου δεσπότου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· διὰ τοῦτο ταύτας συνέτριψε, καὶ ἔστι προδήλως εἰδωλολάτρης, ὃ φησὶν ὁ μέγας Θεόδωρος ὁ Στουδίτης (see *Thdr. Stud. Ep.* 57., ed. Fatouros, 62–67).

Appendix 1

- 1) Demonstration about the Icon of Christ that Christ and his icon has one⁵ *hypostasis* which is divided from the material of the icon;
- 2) And that according to the fact that the one *hypostasis* of both is one and the same, the honour and veneration [towards both of them] is one⁶.
- 3) And that the one who venerates the icon of Christ, venerates the *hypostasis* of the prototype itself.
- 4) From all this it can be understood that the one who voluntarily or in the firm belief destroys the icon, destroys the *hypostasis* of Christ which is painted on it.
- 5) And he is clearly impious and hostile to the images as he treats separately the matter of the icon and the icon from the *hypostasis* of the prototype.
- 6) And by not revering and worshipping the *hypostasis*, he is clearly an idol-worshipper, as he worships the created thing instead of the creator.

⁵ In the meaning of 'the same'.

⁶ Again meaning 'the same'.

Appendix 2

Metropolitans and Archbishops in the Blachernai Synod¹

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Abydos			a(nonym)										
Ainos							Michael						
Alexandria (p)									Sabas				
Amaseia						John							
Anazarbos					a								
Ankyra			Niketas		a			a					

¹ Bishops present were only the suffragan bishops of Cyprus (Gautier, 'Blachernes', 219).; synod Oct 1093: Lamberz, E., 'Vermiss und gefunden. Zwei Texte des Sophronios von Alexandria zur Bildenverehrung, die Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils und eine Patrairchsurkunde des 11. Jahrhunderts in einem griechischen Codex aus dem Besitz des Nikolaus von Kues (Harleianus 5665)', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), 170–171 and 180.

Appendix 2

[illegible]

Appendix 2

[illegible]

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Hierapolis									a				
Ikonion			Esaios										
Jerusalem (p)			Euthymi os				Symeon II						
Kamachos			Leon										
Kerasous			Niketas										
Keltzene			Anthimos										
Kios					a								
Klaudioupolis								a					
Kerkyra (ab)							Nikolaos		a				

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Kotyaieion			Constanti ne										
Kyzikos					a			a					
Crete					a	Leo							
Cyprus (ab.)							Nicolas Mouzalon/ Basil						
Derkos			a										
Ephesos	Nicep hore												
Euchaita			Basil protosyn kellos	a	a		Basil						

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Gangra				a	a		Nicephore						
Germia			a										
Hadrianople													
Herakleia					a								
Hierapolis									a				
Ikonium			Isaios				Eustathios		Nicetas Seides?				
Jerusalem, p.			Euthymi os										
Kaisareia in Cappadocia	Euge nios			a			Kosmas				Constantine		

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Karabizye (archb.)							John					Gregory Gam/balas	
Keltzene													
Klaudiopolis		Const antin e proto synke llos			a		John					Gregory	
Koloneia			John										
Kyzikos													
Laodikeia	Mich ael synke llos	Mich ael	Michael	a	a	Micha el	Michael					Basil	
Leontopolis (ab)								a					

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Leukas						Kyriak os			a				
Larissa						Basil	Basil		a			George	George
Maroneia									a				
Mokessos			John										
Mytilene					a								
Naupaktos					a				a				
Neokaisareia		Mich ael proed ros ton proto synke llon	Gregory protosyn kellos	a			Gregory					Basil	

Appendix 2

[illegible]

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Side			John protosyn kellos	a		John	John						
SouDar.Doc.aia (ab)								a					
Synad(d)a		Mich ael	Michael protosyn kellos				Nicetas						
Stauropolis					a								
Sylaion					a	Micha el							
Thessalonike	Mich ael						Theodoulos						
Tiberioupolis			a		a	Kosma s							

Appendix 2

	9 Nov 1071	14 March 1072	1082, John Italos' trial <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 923–27	Jan 1086 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 940	Sept 1089 <i>Dar.</i> <i>Doc.</i> 950	Oct 1093	<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 965	Nov 15 1101 <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 970	1117, Eustratios of Nikaia <i>Dar.Doc.</i> 1002– 1003b	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157
Traianoupolis									a				
Tyana				a	a		Constantin e						
	6 Nov 1071	14 Marc h 1072	1082, John Italos' trial	Jan 1086	Sept 1089		<i>Blakhernai</i> 1094	Nov 15 1101	1117, Eustratios of Nicea	Oct 1136	19 Nov 1145	26 Febr 1147	12 May 1157

Appendix 3

PROLEGOMENA Leo of Chalcedon: *Apologos*

NOTES IN THE TEXT, APPARATUS, AND INDICES

- [...] litterae, seu verba in lacuna vel rasura codicis deperditae
<...> litterae, seu verba addita
†...† locus editori desperatus

ABBREVIATIONS

- Al. ANNA KOMNENE, *Alexias*, ed. A. KAMBYLIS and D. R. REINSCH, Berlin, New York 2001.
Bas. *De Spiritu Sancto* BASILEIOS OF KAISAREIA, *On the Holy Spirit*, ed. B. PRUCHE, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, Paris 1968.
CCO P. P. JOANNOU, *Discipline Generale Antique (Ile-IXe s.), t. I, 1, Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Rome 1962.
CIC T. MOMMSEN, P. KRUEGER (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 3 vols., Berlin 1928–29.
CSP P. P. JOANNOU, *Discipline Generale Antique (Ile-IXe s.), t. I, 2, Les canons des conciles particuliers*, Rome 1962.
EJ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. M. BERENBAUM, F. SKOLNIK, Detroit 2007².
Ep. Alex. *Leo's Letter to Alexios I Komnenos*, A. LAURIOTES, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 10 36, 1900, p. 403–404.
Ep. Patr. *Leo's Letter to Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos*, ed. A. LAVRIOTES, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 10 36, 1900, p. 405–407.
Gr. Naz. Or. 2 GREGORIOS OF NAZIANZOS, *Oration 2*, ed. J. BERNARDI, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1–3*, Paris 1978, p. 161–242.
Gr. Naz. Or. 33 GREGORIOS OF NAZIANZOS, *Oration 33*, ed. CL. MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 32–37*, Paris 1985, p. 156–197.
Karmires J. KARMIRES (ed.), *Dogmatica et symbolica monumenta orthodoxae catholicae ecclesiae*, t. 1. Graz 1968.
Lampe G. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 2009.
LSJ H. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996.
Thdr. Stud. Ep. THEODOROS STOUDITES, *Letters*, ed. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols., Berlin 1992.
Thom. Somn. *The Dream of Thomas the Deacon*, A. LAURIOTES, 'Ἱστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 10 36, 1900, 404.

PREVIOUS EDITION

The proem, thus l. 1–17 has been published by Alexander Glavinas in Glavinas, *Eris*, 110 whose editorial decisions I follow.

Appendix 3

CONSTITUTIO TEXTUS

I was following the orthography of the manuscript with respect to word forms. With respect to accentuation I followed rules of classical Greek grammar since accents are applied in the manuscript inconsistently. I also introduced punctuation which is familiar to modern readers.

Appendix 3

Λεόντος τοῦ Χαλκηδόνης ἀπόλογος δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἠβούλετο συγκοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν ἐκποίησιν καὶ ὅτι ἀσέβεια ἐσχάτη τὸ κοινοῦσθαι τὰ ἱερά

|| 17Γ Φειδόμενος ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ¹ ὥς οἶμαι δι' ἀγάπης ὑπερβολὴν
5 τῶν μὴ ἀνεχομένων πείθεσθαι μοι ὀρθοδόξως λέγοντι καὶ διατεινομένῳ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς
ἀγίας εἰκόνας 5 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια, ἥγουν τὰ πανίερα καὶ δεσποτικὰ σκεύη, συντρίβεσθαι
καὶ ἐκποιεῖσθαι καὶ εἰς κοινὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων πίστιν τε² καὶ χρῆσιν, πιστῶν τε³ καὶ ἀπίστων,
ἐκδίδοσθαι ἵνα μὴ μείζονος αὐτοῖς κατακρίσεως πρόξενος διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς ὑπομνήσεως
γίνωμαι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ οἰκείου μου θρόνου 10 τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκστῆναι προθύμως
10 ἡρετισάμην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν παραίτησιν, ὥς ἀκούω, μὴ δεξάσθαι ἡ ἁγία τετύπωκε σύνοδος,
ἐγγράφως δὲ μοι παρεκελεύσατο καὶ ἡ ἁγία σου βασιλεία, καὶ ὥσπερ ζῆλον θεῖον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
μου ἔχω, καὶ οἶδα πράγματα πραχθέντα τε⁴ καὶ πραττόμενα, ἃ καθάπτεται⁵ 15 τινος περὶ τὴν
πίστιν, ἵνα σπουδάσω ὥς ζηλωτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας φανερωῖν καὶ διορθώσασθαι τοὺς κακῶς
πράττοντας,⁶ μιμούμενος τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁμολογητὰς τὸ μὲν παραιτήσασθαι
15 καταλέλοιπα, μετὰ παρρησίας δὲ λοιπόν, ἥδη λαλῶ, οὐ προσώπων τινῶν καταδρομὴν ὥς
πραξάντων τοιαῦτα ποιούμενος, 20 ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐπράχθησαν
ἀπελέγχων ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι πᾶσαν εἰδωλολατρείαν ὑπερβεβήκασιν. Καὶ πρῶτον
ἀπολεκτέον τοῦτο ἀπὸ νόμου ἐλληνικοῦ περὶ ἐδάφους εἰδωλείου διαλαμβάνοντος καὶ οὕτω 25
διεξιόντος καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὁ τόπος (οὐ) γίνεται βέβηλος·⁷ ὅθεν οὔτε πωλεῖται· οὐδὲ [...]
20 τόπος λ[...]λωλείων ἀβέβηλος μένει καὶ οὐ πιπράσκεται τις [...] ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ
[...] ὦν τόπων πάντως ἐπὶ || 17ν πλέον ἔσσονται ἱερώτερα τῶν ὑποκειμένων τοῖς εἰδώλοις. Ἡ

¹ 4 Jo. 13:34.

² ms. τε

³ ms. τε

⁴ ms. τε

⁵ ms. καθάπτονται

⁶ 14 κακῶς πράττοντας: *Thom. Somn.* p. 404.: ὥσπερ ὁ πρόταθλος καὶ πρωταγωνιστῆς τιμὴν ἔχει πλείονα τῶν συνδούλων, οὕτως ὁ νήφων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργον. καὶ πῶς παρρησιασμένως ἐλέγχων τοὺς ἀνομοῦντας, οἷα τις μάχαιρα δίστομος, τοιαύτην παρὰ Θεοῦ στολὴν τιμῆς ἀμφιέννυται.

⁷ 19 v. *Iust. Inst.* 2.1.7–9., *CIC* 1:10.: Nullius autem sunt res sacrae et religiosae et sanctae: quod enim divini iuris est, id nullius in bonis est. Sacra sunt, quae rite et per pontifices deo consecrata sunt, veluti aedes sacrae et dona, quae rite ad ministerium dei dedicata sunt, quae etiam per nostram constitutionem alienari et obligari prohibuimus [vide *Iust. Inst.* 1.2.21.], excepta causa redemptionis captivorum. Si quis vero auctoritate sua quasi sacrum sibi constituerit, sacrum non est, sed profanum. Locus autem, in quo sacrae aedes aedificatae sunt, etiam diruto aedificio adhuc sacer manet.

Appendix 3

κἂν γοῦν ἐπίσης ἐκείνοις παλινφδεῖ¹ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν· εἰ ὁ τόπος τούτων ἅπασιν²
ἀνθρώποις ἐπίσης βατὸς ὢν καὶ καταπατούμενος, 5 ἱερός ἔτι. Καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ [...] οὐδαμῶς ἐκποιεῖται. Πρόδηλον ὡς ὁ μόνοις τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συγχωρηθεῖς εἶναι βατὸς ὁ τοῦ
25 βήματος ἱερώτερος ἔσται τοῦ ἔξωθεν. Τούτου δὲ αὐθις ἀσυγκρίτως ἢ ἐπὶ τούτου ἰσταμένη ἅγια
τράπεζα ἱερώτερα ἔστί, 10 (εἰ)καὶ τις ἂν ταύτην ἄνθρωπος εὐσεβῆς ἐκποιήσασθαι τολμήσει
ποτέ. Ταύτης δὲ πάλιν ἀγιώτερα τε καὶ ἱερώτερα καθέστηκε³ τὰ ἐπάνωθεν αὐτῆς κείμενα ἱερά,
ἅτινα δὴ καὶ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων προσαγορεύεται. Διὰ τὸ ἀμέσως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸ 15
πανάγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἢ ἅγια τράπεζα οὐκ ἀξιοῦται
30 ποτέ. Πῶς οὖν τῶν ρηθέντων τούτων ἀπάντων ἀνεκποιήτων φυλαττομένων ὡς ἱερῶν μόνον τὰ
τῶν ἀγίων ἅγια ὡς βέβηλα καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρήσεως ὄντα καὶ ποιηθήσονται; Ἀσυλλόγιστον
τοῦτο πάντῃ καὶ εὐσεβῶν ἀκοαῖς ἀπαράδεκτον. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἢ ἀπὸ εἰδωλικῶν πραγμάτων
σύγκρισις,⁴ (ἔσ)τω περὶ τῶν θείων ἀπόδειξις,⁵ ἀνεκποίητα⁶ ὀφείλιν⁷ διὰ μὲν τὰ ἱερά. Ἀπὸ δὲ
τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐξαρκέσει⁸ νομίμων ἡμῖν τά τε περὶ τοῦ Ὁζᾶν ἱστορούμενα⁹ ὅστις οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ
35 ἴλαβεῖοντι[†] τῆς κιβωτοῦ¹⁰ ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ μόνον [...] σαι προσψαῦσαι αὐτῆς τε καὶ [...] (εἰ)ρηται
περὶ τοῦ Ἀχαρ¹¹ πρὸς δὲ [...] || 18r τοῦ ἱεροῦ ψαῦειν τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἐτέρων ἐδεήθην τοίχων τῶν ἔξωθεν. Καλλὸν δὲ συνεξυφᾶναι τῇ παρουσίᾳ γραφῇ καὶ τὰ τοῦ
Θεολόγου· «οἶδα δὲ ἔγωγε» γράψαντος «μηδὲ στολῆς 5 ἱερατικῆς, ἢ σκεύους τῶν ἀγίων ψαῦειν
παντὶ θεμιτὸν ὄν, μηδὲ τὰς θυσίας αὐτὰς ὑφ' ὧν, καὶ ὅτε, καὶ οὗ μὴ καθῆκον ἦν,
40 ἀναλίσκεσθαι»¹² τοσούτου δεῖ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων προσφοιτᾶν θαρροῦντα. Ὅπερ ἐνὶ καὶ
ἅπαξ τοῦ¹³ ἐνιαυτοῦ συμβατὸν ἦν μόνον. Τοσούτου δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα¹⁴ ἔστι 10 τὸ

¹ ms. πάλινφδει

² ms. ὁ πᾶσιν

³ ms. καθεστήκασιν

⁴ 33 σύγκρισις; Arist. *Top.* 102^b15.

⁵ 33 ἀπόδειξις; Arist. *A. Po.* 71^b17.

⁶ ms. περὶ τοῦ ἀνεκποίητα

⁷ 33 ὀφείλιν; v. Arist. *EN* 1104^a2.: ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ὀφείλιν λέγεσθαι.

⁸ ms. ἐξαρκέσουσι

⁹ 34 1 *Ch* 13:9–10.: Καὶ ἦλθοσαν ἕως τῆς ἁλωνος, καὶ ἐξέτεινεν Ὁζὰ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατασχεῖν τὴν κιβωτόν, ὅτι ἐξέκλινεν αὐτὴν ὁ μόσχος. Καὶ ἐθυμώθη Κύριος ὀργῇ ἐπὶ Ὁζὰ καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ ἐκτεῖναι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ ἀπέναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

¹⁰ 35 κιβωτός, v. *Ep. Alex.* p. 403.: Αὐτὰ τὰ κιβώτια, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἱερά δοχεῖα ἀποτεθέντα τοῦ Θεοῦ [...] μυρίων μαρτύρων τρανότερον βοῶσιν.

¹¹ 36 *Jos.* 7 passim.

¹² 38–40 οἶδα– ἀναλίσκεσθαι: Gr. Naz. *Or.* 2. (*Apol.*), ed. BERNARDI p. 212.94.^{1–7}.

¹³ ms. τῶν

¹⁴ 41 *Ex.* 26:31.

Appendix 3

ίλαστήριον,¹ ἢ ἡ κιβωτός,² ἢ τὰ Χερουβίμ. Ἡ προσβλέπειν (οὐκ) εἶναι παντός, ἢ
προσάπτεσθαι, ταῦτά μοι καὶ ὁ Θεολόγος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτοῦ προστέθεικεν *Απολογητικῶ*. Καὶ
πῶς τούτων ἀπάντων ἀψαύστων ὄντων καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθεάτων μόνα τὰ τῆς 15 ἡμετέρας
45 πίστεως ἅγια, τὰ³ ἀσυγκρίτως τῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀγιότητι ὑπερκείμενα,⁴ οὐ μόνον ψαυστὰ
ἔσται καὶ θεατά, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν χαρασσόντων τὰ νομίσματα χερσὶ τε παραδοθήσονται καὶ
ποσὶ καταπατηθήσονται; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ *Πρὸς Ἀρειανούς* αὐτοῦ 20 λόγῳ⁵ «ἀδιαφόρως ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἀφαιρούμενα⁶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ χερσὶν ἀνόμων⁷ ἐξέδωκα, ἢ Ναβουζαρδὸν τῷ
ἀρχιμαγεῖρῳ, ἢ Βαλτάσαρ⁸ τῷ κακῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις τρυφήσαντι καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίκας
50 εἰσπραχθέντι τῆς ἀπονοίας ἁξίας; Θυσιαστήρια δὲ 25 ἡγαπημένα, νῦν δὲ καθυβρισμένα, ὡς
φησὶ ἡ γραφή⁹». Ὁ μέντοι θεῖος Ἰεζεκιὴλ καὶ λίαν φοβεροῖς τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι ποτὲ μὲν καὶ
ἐκπροσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγων· «οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ || 18ν ἠθέτουν νόμον μου καὶ ἐβεβήλουν τὰ
ἅγιά μου καὶ ἀναμέσον βεβήλου καὶ ἀγίου, οὐ διέστελλον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔν¹⁰
ἐξαλείψαντες¹¹ τὸν τοῖχον ἀπειλοῦντες¹² καὶ τοὺς ἀλείφοντας αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ, ὡς ὁ Θεολόγος
55 5 φησί, τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ τοὺς συγκαλύπτοντας ὅπερ εἶναι κακῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερέων,
καὶ πλαγιαζόντων τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ δὲ κατὰ τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν τὰς ἀπηλλοτριωμένας τοῖς
ἐπιθυμήμασι αὐτῶν». ¹³ Ποτὲ δὲ τὸν Θεὸν (ὁ Ἰεζεκιὴλ) εἰσάγων φονερῶς ἀπειλοῦντα καὶ ὄρκω

¹ 42 *Ex.* 25:16–17.

² ms. τὴν κιβωτὸν

³ ms. τῶν

⁴ ms. ὑπερκείμενας

⁵ 47–51 ἀδιαφόρως— γράφη: Cf. Gr. Naz. Or. 33. (*Contra Arianos et de seipso*), ed. MORESCHINI, p. 160.3¹⁰–162. 3¹⁵: Ποῖα λειτουργικὰ σκεῦη, καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄψαυστα, χερσὶν ἀνόμων ἐξέδωκα, ἢ Ναβουζαρδὰν τῷ ἀρχιμαγεῖρῳ, ἢ Βαλτάσαρ τῷ κακῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις τρυφήσαντι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίκας εἰσπραχθέντι τῆς ἀπονοίας ἁξίας; Θυσιαστήρια ἡγαπημένα, ὡς φησιν ἡ θεία Γραφή, νυνὶ δὲ καθυβρισμένα· ὑμῶν δὲ ποῖον δι’ ἡμᾶς κατωρχήσατο μειράκιον ἀσελγὲς, αἰσchrὰ λυγιζόμενον, καὶ καμπτόμενον; μᾶλλον δὲ, διὰ τίνος ἐγὼ τοιοῦτου τὸ μέγα μυστήριον καὶ θεῖον ἐξωρρησάμην;

⁶ ms. ἀφαιρουμένους

⁷ Verba quaedam ab eadem manu conscripta in sinistra parte folii: ἐκδ(ι)δοντ(ι) αὐτὰ, ὁ α(ὐ)τὸς θύνες φαφι †πῆα [...] χεῖτο [...] το νικὰ † ἢ σκεύη καὶ τε πολλοῖς ἄψαυστα χερσὶν ἀνόμων.

⁸ 49 *Dan.* 5:1–31.

⁹ 51 *Reg.* 25:11.

¹⁰ 52–53 οἱ–ἐν: Gr. Naz. Or. 2. (*Apol.*), ed. BERNARDI p. 178. 65.^{9–11}: Οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς ἠθέτουν νόμον μου, καὶ ἐβεβήλουν τὰ ἅγιά μου· βεβήλοις τε καὶ ἀγίοις, φησί, οὐ διέστελλον.

¹¹ ms. ἐξαλείψαίτε

¹² ms. ἀπειλῶν

¹³ 54–57 τοῖχον— αὐτῶν: cf.: Gr. Naz. Or. 2. (*Apol.*), ed. BERNARDI p. 178. 65.^{13–18}: Συντελεῖν τε τὸν τοῖχον, καὶ τοὺς ἀλείφοντας αὐτὸν ἀπειλῶν· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ, τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ τοὺς συγκαλύπτοντας· ὅπερ εἶναι κακῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερέων, καὶ πλαγιαζόντων τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν τὰς ἀπηλλοτριωμένας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν αὐτῶν.

Appendix 3

10 τὰ τῆς ἀπειλῆς βεβαιοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα·¹ «διὰ τοῦτο ζῶ ἐγὼ λέγων Ἀδωναὶ ὁ Κύριος ἢ μὴν
ἀνθ' ὧν τὰ ἁγία μου ἐμίανας, κἀγὼ ἀπόσομαί σε, οὐ φείσεται μου ὁ ὀφθαλμός, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ
60 ἐλεήσω σε. Τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται, καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν λιμῷ 15
συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου, εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον διασκορπιῶ αὐτούς, καὶ
τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλῳ σου· καὶ μάχαιραν ἐκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐτῶν». Ὁ
μέντοι τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου² κανὼν ἐπικρατέστερος ὢν τῆς 20 νεαρᾶς ὡς μεταγενεστέρος
ταύτης, νόμου τάξιν λαβὼν, διὰ τὴν ἀναφαινομένην ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιότητα³ ἀπαγορεύει
65 παντάπασι τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἐκποίησην λέγων οὕτως· «κειμήλια ἱερὰ καὶ κτήσεις
ἀκινήτους ἀνεκποίητα τῆς 25 ἐκκλησίας σώζεσθαι χρή». Ὅδε λέγει ἀνεκποίητα [...] ἐναντίος
ἐστὶ τῷ ἐκποιεῖσθαι ταῦτα προστάσسونτι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος κανὼν ἐνεργεῖ προδηλώσας οἷα
διηνεκῶς τοῖς ἐντάλμασι τῶν || 19r καθεκάστην χειροτονουμένων ἀρχιερέων ἐγγραφόμενος καὶ
ἀνανεούμενος περιέχων οὕτως· δεῖ τὴν σὴν θεοφιλείαν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κειμηλίοις μεγίστην
70 καταβάλλεσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὥστε ταῦτα εἰς 5 κόσμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀσινῇ διασώζεσθαι ἢ καὶ
αὔξησιν, εἰ οἷόν τε, ἐπιδέχεσθαι.⁴ Τὰ τε ἄλλα⁵ ἀκίνητα κτήματα, ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
συντελεῖ χρεῖαν, ἀνεκποίητα συντηρεῖν. Ἡ μέντοι ἐν Λαοδικεῖᾳ σύνοδος⁶ καὶ ἄψαυστα ὅλως
10 τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑποδιακόνοις βούλεται εἶναι οὕτω πῶς διεξιούσα·⁷ «οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας
ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ καὶ ἅπτεσθαι δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν». ⁸ Ἡ δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει
75 ἔκτη σύνοδος·⁹ «μὴ ἐξέστω τινι τῶν ἀπάντων 15 ἐν λαικοῖς τελοῦντι» λέγουσα «ἐνδον ἱεροῦ
εἰσιέναι θυσιαστηρίου· μηδαμῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλικῆς εἰργομένης ἐξουσίας καὶ αὐθεντίας
ἡνίκα ἂν βουλευθῇ προσάξει δῶρα τῷ πλάσαντι». ¹⁰ Κωλύει μὲν ἀριδὴλως τοῖς λαικοῖς εἰς τὸ
20 ἅγιον εἰσιέναι θυσιαστήριον· τῷ μέντοι βασιλεῖ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ μᾶλλον προσάγειν
δῶρα τῷ πλάσαντι, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ. Ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα περὶ τοῦ μὴ

¹ 58–63 διὰ–αὐτῶν: cf.: Ez. 5:11–12: διὰ τοῦτο ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ μὴ ἀνθ' ὧν τὰ ἁγία μου ἐμίανας ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βδελύγμασίν σου, κἀγὼ ἀπόσομαί σε, οὐ φείσεται μου ὁ ὀφθαλμός, κἀγὼ οὐκ ἐλεήσω. Τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον σκορπιῶ αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλῳ σου, καὶ μάχαιραν ἐκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.

² 63 Cyrillus, patriarcha Alexandrinus (r. 412–444). Hic agitur de Canone Secundo qui sub nomine Cyrilli ad nos pervenit, v. CPG 280.8–11.

³ ms. ἐναντιότητος

⁴ 69–71 δεῖ–ἐπιδέχεσθαι: cf. CPG 280.1–8.

⁵ ms. ἄλλα

⁶ 73 a. 380. Concilium Laodicense

⁷ ms. διεξιούσα

⁸ 74–75 οὐ–σκευῶν: c. 21. Concilii Laodicensis, CSP 132.13–15.

⁹ 75 a. 691/692, Concilium Quinisextum seu Trullanum

¹⁰ 75–78 μὴ–πλάσαντι: c. 69. Quinisexti seu Trullani, CCO 207.7–13.

Appendix 3

80 χρῆναί τινα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἱερά· 25 Μέντοι¹ τοὺς λέγοντας «ἔτι ἡμεῖς τὰς
ἀγίας εἰκόνας καὶ σεπτὰ ἱερά καὶ σεβόμεθα δὲ προσκυνοῦμεν» καὶ ἀσπαζόμεν «ἐκποιούμεθα
δὲ ταῦτα» καὶ καταλύομεν. Καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δι’ ἧς (...)ίας || 19ν ἢ χρήσεις καὶ ὑπηρεσίας αὐτὰ
μεταποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ νομίσματα ἐκ τούτων χαράσσοντες καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἐντυποῦντες ἐπὶ ἀναρρῦσει δηλαδὴ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ σωτηρία τῶν Χριστιανῶν.² Ἐπειδὴ 5 ὁ
85 σκοπὸς πανταχοῦ κρίνεται τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιούντων, ἀκατακριτοὶ ἐσμὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς· πρὸς οὓς
ἀπαντητέον οὐκέτι. Ἀλλὰ ἐλεγχὸς ἐστὶν ἀκριβὴς αἰὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀφανοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
διαθέσεως, οὐ λόγοι ἀπλῶς μόρφωσιν ἔχοντες ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ ἔργα καὶ 10 καρποί· ὥς καὶ ὁ
Κύριος ἔφησε ποτὲ μὲν λέγων³ «οὐ πάς ὁ λέγων μοι “κύριε, κύριε” εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ποτὲ δὲ
90 πολλοὶ ἐρῶσί μοι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ “κύριε, κύριε” οὐχὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι 15 προσφητεύσαμεν
καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλλομεν καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν;
Καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσει αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι
τὴν ἀνομίαν». Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρχομένους 20 ψευδοπροφήτας ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καρπῶν αὐτοὺς
ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι ἔφησαν.⁴ Ἀλλὰ τούτον δὴ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς ὢν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Νικηφόρος⁵ ἐκ
95 τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἠλεγξε τὸν κοπρώνυμον⁶ καίτοι διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ρημάτων 25 εὐσεβῶς
δοκοῦντα λαλεῖν, εἰπόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου ὥς ἡμεῖς ἐκ μέσου ποιεῖν σπεύδομεν τὸ τῶν εἰκόνων
χρῆμα, ὅπως μὴ τινες τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ἀγροικοτέρων τὸ δέον ἀγνοοῦντες || 20r ὥς
ἀσθενέστεροι ἰσαθεοῖς τούτοις⁷ προσίενται, πρὸς τὴν ὕλην τὴν ἄψυχον ἀποπλανώμενοι καὶ
μέχρι ταύτης τὸν νοῦν ἰστάμενοι καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁρώμενα φανταζόμενοι. Ὁ τῷ ὄντι μέγας
100 ἐν ἀγίοις 5 Νικηφόρος ἀντέφησε ὥς ὅτι «εἰ μὲν σεμνῶς περιεστέλλες καὶ τῷ ἀνήκοντι τρόπῳ
ἀπῆμονα διετήρεις τὰ ἅγια εἶχεν ἂν σοι ποσῶς τὸ πιθανὸν ὁ λόγος, ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ συνιδιάξαι
τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς, ὥστε τὴν δέουσαν προσνέμειν τιμὴν ταῖς ἀγίαις εἰκόσι. Νῦν δὲ ὑβρίζεις 10
αἰσχρῶς συγκλῶν καὶ διαρρηγμοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ πόδας τιθεῖς τὰ σεβάσματα πυρὶ ταῦτα παραδιδούς,
οὐκ ἐμπίπρασας τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐδὲ συμφλέγῃ καὶ κατατήκῃ τὸν νοῦν, καὶ χεῖρας ἀθέσμους

¹ V. *LSJ* 1101 s. v. ‘μέν’ ii. 4. c.

² 85 Velut imperator Alexius atque eius consanguinei contendebant (v. *Al.* 5.2.2.) innixi lege Iustiniani (Iust. Nov. 7.8., *CIC* 3. p. 59³²–p. 60². Iust. Inst. 2.1.7–9., *CIC* 1.10.6–8.): Sacra [...] etiam per nostram constitutionem alienari et obligari prohibuimus [vide Iust. Inst. 1.2.21.], excepta causa redemptionis captivorum.

³ 89–93 οὐ–ἀνομίαν: *Mt.* 7:21–23.

⁴ 94 v. *Mt.* 24:4–14, 7:18.

⁵ 95 Nicephorus I patriarcha Constantinopolitanus (r. 806–815).

⁶ 96 τὸν κοπρώνυμον: Imperator Constantinus V (r. 741–775).

⁷ ms. ταύταις

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105 προτείνων ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον, κατὰ σαρκὰς¹, ὕφ' ὧν ἐληλεγμένος 15 εἴ ὥς, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανήκεις καὶ ὥς κύων ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμε τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἀθείας». Καὶ εἰκότως ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἰδίων ἐκεῖνον διήλεγξεν· ἡ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν φυλακὴ καὶ συντήρησις τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων, τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον δείκνυσι τοῦ περὶ 20 αὐτὰς ἡμῶν σεβάσματος καὶ τῆς προσκυνήσεως· ὥσπερ καὶ αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου· τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἡμῶν ἀπῆμονα φυλάττεσθαι τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀσινῇ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτεῖ τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων δηλωτικὰ ἀναμφίβολα,² καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀλλήλων 25 ἔχουσι ἀποδείξεις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιγραφομένων τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων. Οὐχὶ εἰκὼν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὐδὲ εἰκὼν Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ὡς αὐτῶν ὄντων ζῶν πρωτοτύπων, καὶ ταῖς ἁγίαις εἰκόσι || 20ν κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως. Δείκνυσι δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ὁσιος Θεόδωρος ὁ Στουδίτης οὕτω λέγων προδήλως

115 ὅτι «ἐπὶ τῆς φυσικῆς εἰκόνοσ καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου ἡγουν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡνίκα μία φύσις 5 μία καὶ προσκύνησις κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως.³ Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μιμητικῆς εἰκόνοσ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ⁴ ἡνίκα μία ὑπόστασις, μία καὶ ἐνταῦθα προσκύνησις κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν δηλὸν ὅτι τῆς μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλὰ οὐ τὸ ἑτεροῖον τῶν φύσεων Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ εἰκόνοσ. Εἰ γὰρ 10 ἡ κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως εἴποι τις μίαν προσκύνησιν εἶναι ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς

120 εἰκόνοσ αὐτοῦ,⁵ ἡ μήτε κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως μήτε κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εἰδωλολατρεῖ φανερῶς»⁶ διὰ τοῦ τοῖς τοῦ Θεολόγου λέγοντος⁷ «πᾶν πνεῦμα τὸ

¹ ms. οὐ κατὰ σαρκὰς

² ms. ἀναμφίβολους

³ 115–117 ἐπὶ– φύσεως: Thdr. Stud. Ep. 57., ed. FATOUROS, 44–46. Vide de eodem argumento Ep. Nic. passim et Ep. Patr. 407.

⁴ 117 τοῦ Χριστοῦ: supra scriptum τῆς αὐτῆς εἰκόνοσ.

⁵ 117–121 ἐπὶ– αὐτοῦ: cf.: Thdr. Stud. Ep. 57., ed. FATOUROS, 49–55.: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μιμητικῆς εἰκόνοσ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, ἡγουν τῆς εἰκόνοσ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡνίκα μία ὑπόστασις Χριστοῦ, μία καὶ ἐνταῦθα προσκύνησις ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν δηλὸν ὅτι τῆς μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως, οὐ τὸ ἑτεροῖον τῶν φύσεων Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰκόνοσ. Εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς ὑποστάσεως οὕτω καὶ κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως μίαν φαίμεν εἶναι τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς εἰκόνοσ πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον, οὐκέτι διαφορὰν εἰκόνοσ καὶ εἰκονιζομένου γνωριοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ ὡς μία ὑπόστασις οὕτω καὶ μία φύσις τῆς εἰκόνοσ Χριστοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐμπίπτομεν εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν πολυθεΐαν, πᾶσαν ὕλην εἰς Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα χαρακτηριζομένην θεοποιοῦντες.

⁶ 119–122 εἰ– φανερῶς: cf.: Thdr. Stud. Ep. 57., ed. FATOUROS, 62–67.: Εἰ δὲ μήτ' αὖ κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς ὑποστάσεως μήτε κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς φύσεως λέγοι τις εἶναι τὴν τῆς εἰκόνοσ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον προσκύνησιν, δηλὸν ὅτι ἔσχισε τὸ κράτος καὶ ἐμέρισε τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνοσ, καὶ οὕτως προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ εἰδωλολατρεῖ φανερῶς, οὐ μίαν ἀλλὰ δύο προσκυνήσεις εἰσφέρων.

⁷ ms. λέγοντος ὅτι

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15 διαιροῦν τὸν Ἰησοῦν (ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι)¹ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ· καὶ οὗτός ἐστι ὁ ἀντίχριστος»² τοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀγίοις Λέοντος πάπα Ῥώμης, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι εἶναι τοῦτο διερμηνεύοντος, εἰ³ τὸ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀποχωρίζειν ἡγουν ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς αὐτῆς
125 ὑποστάσεως. Εὐδηλον 20 ὡς ἐπεὶ ὁ ὁσιος Θεόδωρος μίαν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι λέγει ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου καὶ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ, πάντως ὁ καταλύων τὴν εἰκόνα διαιρεῖ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ μίαν ὑπόστασιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διήρει τὴν μίαν ὑπόστασιν, οὐκ ἂν μόνον κοινήν ὕλην 25 ἡγούμενος τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα, ὡς κοινήν ὕλην ταύτην συνέτριβε καὶ παντελῶς⁴ ἐξεποιεῖτο· πῶς γὰρ ἀνέχοιτο ὀρθόδοξος ἄνθρωπος μίαν προσκύνησιν εὐσεβῶς
130 προσάγων τῷ τε πρωτοτύπῳ Χριστῷ || 21r καὶ τῇ ἀγία εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἦν καὶ κατασπάζεται καὶ ἦν ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας παρακαλεῖ σωτηρίας, ταύτην ἢ συντρίψει(ν) ἢ παρὰ ἐτέρων συντριβομένην ἰδεῖν. Ὅθεν ἡ ἐβδόμη 5 σύνοδος,⁵ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγονότα ἐγγράφως τε καὶ ἀγράφως παρὰ τινῶν περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς παραδόσεις ὡς γεγονότα⁶ λογισαμένη, ἥδε οὕτω φησι· «πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐγγράφως καὶ ἀγράφως
135 τεθεσπισμένας ἡμῖν παραδόσεις ἀκαινοτομήτως φυλάττομεν ὧν 10 μία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς εἰκονιακῆς ἀναζωγραφήσεως ἐκτύπωσις ὡς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος συνάδουσα πρὸς πίστωσιν τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ εἰς ὁμοίαν λυσιτέλειαν 15 ἡμῖν χρησιμεύουσα· τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων δηλωτικά, ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν ἐμφάσεις. Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τῆς βασιλικῆς
140 ἐ(ρ)χόμενοι τρίβου ἐπακολουθοῦντες τῇ θεηγόρῳ⁷ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν ἀγίων 20 πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ παραδόσει τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκήσαντος Ἁγίου Πνεύματος

¹ 123 Sententia est mancata si quis alteram partem Ioannis Evangelistae verba nescius est, qua re addidi, attamen Leo Chalcedonensis tantum alteram sententiae partem profert omittens colum in quo plane de Domini incarnatione agitur.

² 122–124 διὰ– ἀντίχριστος: cf.: *Tomus Leontis* c. 5. (De incarnatione Christi): Ἦς τινος πίστεως τοῦ μυστηρίου κοῦφος ὢν Εὐτυχῆς οὗτος καὶ ἀμέτοχος ὀφείλει νομίζεσθαι, ὃς τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῆς ταπεινότητος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος οὔτε διὰ τῆς δόξης ἐπέγνω τῆς ἀναστάσεως, οὔτε τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐφοβήθη τοῦ μακαρίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ λέγοντος· «Πᾶν πνεῦμα τὸ ὁμολογοῦν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα τὸ διαιροῦν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀντίχριστος» [1 Jo. 4:1]. Τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ διαιροῦν Ἰησοῦν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀποχωρίζειν καὶ τὸ μυστήριον, δι’ οὗ περ ἐσώθημεν μόνου, πειρᾶσθαι μάταιον διὰ πλασμάτων ἀναιδῶν ἀπεργάζεσθαι;

³ ms. εἰ μὴ

⁴ ms. παντόλως

⁵ 134 a. 787. Nicaeum Secundum; 134–155 πάσας–ὑπόστασιν: cf. *Nicaeum Secundum*, *Karmires* 238–240.

⁶ ms. μήδε γεγονότα

⁷ ms. τεθεηγόρῳ

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εἶναι ταύτην γινώσκομεν, ὀρίζομαι σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πάσῃ¹ καὶ ἐμμελείᾳ παραπλησίως τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ 25 ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ἐκ χρωμάτων καὶ ψηφίδος καὶ ἐτέρας ὕλης ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐχούσας ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἱεροῖς || 21ν σκεύεσι
145 καὶ ἐσθῆσιν,² τοίχοις τε καὶ σανίσιν, οἴκοις τε καὶ ὁδοῖς· τὴν τε τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα, τῆς τε ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν 5 τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου, τῶν τιμίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ πάντων ἀγίων καὶ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν· ὅσῳ γὰρ συνεχῶς διὰ εἰκονικᾶς ἀνατυπώσεως ὁρῶνται, τοσούτῳ καὶ οἱ ταῦτα θεώμενοι διανίστανται πρὸς τὴν τῶν πρωτοτύπων μνήμην τε καὶ ἐπιπόθησιν, καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν
150 ἀπονέμουσιν.³ 10 Οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἥ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θεῇ φύσει, ἀλλ’ ὃν τρόπον τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις εὐαγγελίοις. Καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ φώτων προσαγωγὴν πρὸς τὴν τούτων τιμὴν 15 ποιεῖσθαι, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐσεβῶς εἴθιστο· «ἡ γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνης τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει»,⁴ καὶ «ὁ προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκόνα προσκυνεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου τὴν
155 ὑπόστασιν». Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν πεφανερωμένον 20 καὶ ἐγνωσμένον καὶ κεκηρυγμένον ὡς ἐξ εἰκόνων καὶ ἐν εἰκόσι τιμᾶται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ἡ ἀλήθεια. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνοδικοῦ. Ἀποδεικτέον δὲ διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου διδασκαλίας ὅτι ἡ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας τολμωμένη 25 πλεονεξία πᾶσαν εἰδωλολατρίαν ὑπερνικᾷ· πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος εὐσεβὴς μεῖζον εἰποῖ πάντως ἁμάρτημα εἶναι τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους γινομένης ἀδικίας τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τολμῶν || 22γ μὲνην πλημμέλειαν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ μηδεὶς εἰπεῖν τοῦτο βουλευθεῖ
160 καὶ καταθέσθαι τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν λεγομένοις, ἀλλὰ γε τρανῶς ἡ θεῖα τοῦτο παρα(στ)ήσει γραφή, οὕτω πως βοῶσα· «ἐὰν ἁμαρτῶν 5 ἁμάρτη τις εἰς ἄνθρωπον καὶ εὕξονται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ εἰς Θεὸν ἁμάρτη, τίς εὕξεται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ;».⁵ Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ῥήματα μικροῦ καὶ ἀσυγχώρητον εἰσάγουσι τὴν εἰς Θεὸν ἁμαρτίαν· πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ χωρὶς μετανοίας 10 καὶ παραχρῆμα τῷ
165 πλημμελήσαντι τοιαύτην πλημμέλειαν ταύτην συγχωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἄκουσον οἶα περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλεονεξίας ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος ἀποφαίνεται προδήλως τὸν πλεονέκτην ὀριζόμενος εἶναι 15 εἰδωλολατρίαν· φησὶ γάρ· «πᾶς πόρνος ἢ ἀκάθαρτος ἢ πλεονέκτης ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης, οὐκ ἔχει κληρονομίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ»·⁶ καὶ αὖθις·

¹ ms. πάλιν

² ms. ἐσθήσεσιν

³ 151 *Karmires* ἀπονέμειν

⁴ 154–155 ἡ–διαβαίνει: Bas. *De Spiritu Sancto*, ed. PRUCHE, p. 406.

⁵ 163–164 ἐὰν–αὐτοῦ: cf. 2 *Reg* 2:25: Ἐὰν ἁμαρτῶν ἁμάρτη τις εἰς ἄνθρωπον, προσεύξονται περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ εἰς Θεὸν ἁμάρτη, τίς προσεύξεται περὶ αὐτοῦ;

⁶ 168–170 πᾶς–Θεοῦ: *Eph.* 5:5.

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«νεκρῶσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, 20 ἐπιθυμίαν
170 κακήν, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν».¹ Ἦτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνθρώπους
καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀφαιρούμενοι εἰδωλολάτραι εἰσὶν καὶ πάσας ἐκκλήσιας ἐκκήρυκτοι. Ὡς φησιν
ἡ θεία φωνή· «οἱ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ 25 ἀφαιρούμενοί τινος ἐπιτεύζονται τῆς προσηγορίας ὧν οὐδὲ ὁ
ὑπερευχόμενος ἔσται καὶ εὐρεθήσεται»· καὶ πάλιν· «ὁ διδάσκων ἕτερον» φησὶ «σεαυτὸν οὐ
διδάσκει; Ὁ κηρύσσων || 22ν μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτεις; Ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύεις; Ὁ
175 βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα ἱερασυλεῖς; Ὁς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου
τὸν Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις· «τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται 5 ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καθὼς
γέγραπται»². Ἦκουσεν ἡ βασιλεία σου οἷα καὶ ὅσα ταυτὶ διαλαμβάνει τὰ ῥήματα τὸν μισοῦντα
τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀνακείμενα χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενον, 10 ἱερόσυλόν τε ἅμα καὶ
εἰδωλολάτρην ἀποκαλεῖ, ὡς ὁ Χρυσόστομος διέξεισι· φησὶ γάρ σφόδρα τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ ἐν
180 τοῖς εἰδώλοις χρήματα βδελύττει ἔχειν· «διὰ τὸ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀνατεθῆναι ὑμεῖς δὲ» φησὶ «τὰ
μὲν εἰδῶλα βδελύσσεσθαι φατε, 15 τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς χρήματα διαρπάζετε. Ἄρα οὖν³ οὐδὲ τὰ
εἰδῶλα κατὰ ἀλήθειαν βδελύσσεσθε;». Εἰ δὲ ὁ τὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀνακείμενα χρήματα λαμβάνων
ἱερόσυλός ἐστι, ὃς τὰ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ 20 ἀνακείμενα ἀφαιρούμενος, ὁποίας ἀξιοθήσεται τῆς
κολάσεως; Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀτιμάζειν φησὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καυχωμένους καὶ τὰ θεῖα
185 ἐντάλματα παραβαίνοντας. Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ 25 βλασφημεῖσθαι
δι' αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι λέγει. Ταῦτα οὖν, ὧ δέσποτα, τὰ ῥήματα, οὐ παρερμηνεύοντός εἰσι
τὰς θεῖας γραφάς, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰπόντος ἀποστόλου. Εἴ τις || 23r παραδίδωσι ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ
παρελάβετε, κἂν ἄγγελός ἐστιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.⁴ Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐπεὶ μὴ
ἐστὶν ἐγκλήμασι εἰσαγόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς 5 εἰδωλολατρίας ὑπέρκειται· ὡς
190 ἀποδέδεικται ἤδη πῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἰδιαίζων τις κατήγορος λογισθήσεται,⁵ ἢ πῶς αἱ ἀποδείξεις⁶ ἀφ'

¹ 170–171 νεκρῶσατε– πλεονεξίαν: *Col* 3:5.

² 177–178 ὁ–γέγραπται: *Rom.* 2:21–24.

³ ms. Ἄρα οὖν οὐδὲ

⁴ 189–190 Εἴ τις– ἔστω: v. *Gal.* 1:9: ὡς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

⁵ 192 κατήγορος λογισθήσεται: I. SAKKÉLION, 'Decrét d'Alexis Comnène portant deposition de Léon, Metropolitain de Chalcédoine', *BCH* 2, 1878, p. 102–128., in p. 124.: [ὁ Χαλκήδονος] χριστιανοκατήγορος ἀναφαίνεται.

⁶ 190 αἱ ἀποδείξεις: I. SAKKÉLION, 'Decrét d'Alexis Comnène portant deposition de Léon, Metropolitain de Chalcédoine', *BCH* 2, 1878, p. 102–128., in p. 123.: καθαπερὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς [ὁ Χαλκήδονος] νέος καθίσας δογματιστής, καὶ τὸ ἅπαν κράτος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῶν κανόνων καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐξαρτησάμενος, πᾶσαν εἶπεν ἐκποίησιν ἱερῶν ὅπως δὴποτε παρ' οἰουδήτινος γινομένην, εἰς ἀσέβειαν περιφανῶς ἀναφέρεισθαι, μόνης ἐφειμένης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἵδους εἰς ἕτερον τῶν ἁγίων ἐξαλλαγῆς καὶ εἰς ἐπικύρωσιν τῆς γενναίας τοῦ λόγου ἐνστάσεως, γνώμην ἰδίαν ἐξενεγκὼν ἐπιδέδωκε.

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ένος ανθρώπου ἐκζητηθήσονται πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ὀφειλόντων τῶν
ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀπελέγχειν 10 ἀναγκαζομένων αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ κατάρᾳ περιπέσωσι
τῇ οὕτω λεγούσῃ· «ἀποκαλύπτεται ὀργὴ Θεοῦ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν
ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων»¹ Προσέσχευεν ἡ βασιλεία σου ὡς 15
195 ἀσέβειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀδικίαν καλεῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ τὸ τοὺς εἰδότας τὴν ἀληθείαν ταύτην παρ’
ἑαυτοῖς κατέχειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἀνακαλύπτειν; Καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
ὁμολογεῖν καὶ πᾶσι πάλιν φησὶ ὁ αὐτός· «οἵτινες ἐπιγινόντες 20 τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι οἱ τὰ
τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς
πράσσουσιν»² καὶ ταῦτα περὶ διαφορῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ οὐ περὶ τηλικαύτης ἀσεβείας
200 διαλαμβάνει.

¹ 193–194 ἀποκαλύπτεται– κατεχόντων: *Ep. Rom.* 1:18.

² 197–200 οἵτινες– πράσσουσι: *Ep. Rom.* 1:32.

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INDEX LOCORUM¹

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¹ Following the order of appearance in the *Apol.*

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Appendix 3

The Apology of Leo of Chalcedon explaining for what reason he refused to take communion with those who praised the alienation of sacred things and that it is the greatest impiety to defile sacred things

I who have hitherto kept, according to the commandment of God, with an excess of love, as I believe, those who cannot bear to be convinced by me, while I speak with right belief and affirm that the holy icons and the holy objects of the saints, i.e. the divine vessels, must not be broken, alienated and delivered for the credit and common use of everyone, of the faithful as well as of the unfaithful. In order not to arouse by my incessant call to order a greater reprobation on the part of those who wanted me to retire from my own throne, I have chosen [this] of my own free will. But since my resignation, as I hear of it, the holy synod decreed not to accept it, and even your holy majesty exhorted me in writing, and as I have the divine zeal in my heart and I know what had been done and are being done regarding, to some degree, faith, I gave up resigning to act eagerly as a zealot of the truth to unmask and correct the wrongdoers, imitating the confessors who defended piety. Thus, I speak with *parrhesia* not by attacking certain people as they accomplished this, but by convicting on the basis of the holy scriptures the things which have been accomplished and the cause of their exaction of going beyond all idolatry.

First, this can be contended on the basis of the Greeks' law concerning the parcel of land which a [pagan] temple occupies. And that way if the temple deteriorates and collapses, its place does not become profane, therefore nobody sells it. Nor [...] ¹ the place of our sacred buildings remain holy and nobody sells it [...] and the parcel upon which our sacred buildings lay will be much rather sacred than the ones on which pagan temples lay.² Or if [one] of our sacred buildings has the same fate as the pagan ones: if their place is accessible, or passable equally for everybody, it remains holy. And if the sacred building falls, in no way it is alienated. It is clear that the raised platform of the sanctuary, to which only the priests are admitted, is more holy than the [remaining part of the building] outside of it. The altar, which stands on it, is incomparably more sacred than the platform, even in the case if a pious person dares to alienate it. The sacred objects, which lay on the top of it and are called the sacred of all sacred, are more holy than the altar. The altar never has the merit to house the most holy body and blood of the Son of God, which are directly in the sacred vessels. Thus, how the things that are

¹ Missing words in the ms.

² The sentence is mutilated due to the corrupted ms.

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mentioned which are not made by human hands are kept as holy in the sacred of all sacred which is not sacred, but of human use and made [by human hands]? This cannot be explained with syllogism and unperceivable for human ears. And let this comparison, starting from the things concerning idols, be a demonstration about the divine things, fulfilling its function by means of treating the sacred things that cannot be alienated.

From the legal customs of the Jews the story concerning Oza will help us. Whoever [...] only from touching the Ark of God [...] is said about Achar [...].³ Touching the sacred was not safe for the crowd so they needed other walls, too, [that separated the holy] from the external parts. I know some words of the Theologian which nicely complement the passage under discussion: ‘It is not righteous’, he wrote, ‘for everybody to touch the holy vestments, or sacred vessels, nor the eucharist itself to be taken by those, at the time, at a place where it is not proper’: there is the need for a person who has the power to enter the sacred of all sacred; which happened with a single person only once a year. The veil of this so great thing is the mercy-seat,⁴ or the Ark, or the cherubim. It was not permitted to have a look at or to touch all this which was made clear to me also by the Theologian in his great *Apology*. And how [is it possible that] the particularly sacred things of our faith none of which can be touched and viewed by everybody and which incomparably transcend in holiness the things that were part of the old faith, not only being touched and seen, but are given into the hands of minters and trampled under foot? And also in his oration *Against the Arians* [the Theologian exclaimed]: ‘The sacred objects were taken from the holy churches without discrimination.’⁵ Was this me who gave them into the hands of unrighteous people, to Nabouzardon, the high court-official, or to Baltasar who lived luxuriously using the sacred things and paid the price of his madness in a due manner? The altars which are venerated with love, now treated with disrespect, as the Scripture says’. Ezekiel, too, who was indeed divine, said with the following formidable words speaking from the person of God: ‘His priests broke faith with my law, made profane what are sacred for me and in the middle between profane and sacred, did not make a distinction. However, everything was for them the same, destroying the wall and threatening also those who had built it’. ‘That is to say’, as the Theologian says, ‘those who were sinful and who hid, as it happened,

³ The sentence is not entire because of the damage of the ms., but undoubtedly offers two instances from the Old Testament. The first the example of the Levite priest Oza who touched the Ark of God and died on the spot. The other example is Achar (or Achan) who pillaged silver, gold and a Babylonian garment from Jericho, despite the fact the prophet Joshua declared that all the booty should have gone to the treasury of the Lord, because those were consecrated to the Lord.

⁴ The cover of the Ark of the Covenant.

⁵ I.e. without recognizing their sacred nature.

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bad leaders and priests, and misled the house of Israel indulging the hearts of the people which had been alienated by their desires'. Then [Ezekiel] introduced God threatening mortally and confirming his threats with an oath, saying: 'Therefore I exist said Adonai the Lord, despite which fact you defiled what is sacred to me, thus I will also reject you, my eye will not have mercy and pity upon you. When you die, your fourth part will be destroyed, the other fourth part will be consumed in you with famine, the fourth of you I will scatter entirely in the wind and the last fourth will fall around you and I will pull my sword after them'. The canon of holy Kyrillos prevails over the *neara* as it dates after that and assumes the role of *nomos*. By means of the evident discrepancy between the *neara* and itself, the canon forbids to everybody to alienate sacred objects saying that way: 'The sacred treasures and immovable possessions of the church must be preserved and cannot be alienated'. The content of the canon concerning the alienated things is contrary to the person's mandate to alienate those. And this canon is also influential clarifying with thorough prescriptions the duties of each anointed bishop, encompassing affirmative and prohibitive rules in the following way: 'You must turn your affection towards God into the greatest care for the holy treasury, to be preserved as an undamaged decorum of your church, moreover to add to its increment, if possible. You must protect all the other immovable possessions of your church as they are for the use of it'. The synod of Laodikeia declares that the sacred things must not be touched entirely either by the subdeacons and goes on, if I am right, this way: 'The servants must not possess a land during their diaconate and touch the divine vessels'. The Seventh Council of Constantinople defined: 'It is not permitted to any layperson to enter the sanctuary; what is more, neither if he has in mind to enter under imperial sway and authority to bring gifts'. [The canon] thus clearly hinders laymen from entering the sanctuary: this applies indeed to the emperor to send gifts with somebody and not to take away which belong the sanctuary. Let it be enough said about the topic that no one should remove sacred things from the holy churches.

In fact, those who say, 'Now, we fall down and worship the holy icons and the divine holy things', we greet, [those who say,] 'We alienate them', we even depose. And there is no [...], or use, and service through which they alter them, but they mint coins from these and mould Christ on them to rescue, manifestly, prisoners of war and save Christian people. Since the aim of those who do so is disapproved, we, against whom no one must counteract any longer, cannot be condemned. However, this is a good indicator, always from God, of the veiled condition of people, not only words that have simply the form of the truth, but deeds and their fruit. As the Lord told, 'Not all who says to me "Lord, Lord" will have access to the kingdom of God, but the one who does the will of my heavenly Father. That time many will ask me on

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that day “Lord, Lord”, we prophesized in your name, did not we, and we expelled demons, and in your name we performed a number of miracles, did not we?’ And then he will tell them: ‘I do not know you, get out of here who did unrighteousness’. The false prophets who will come, though, can be recognised, some said, about their own fruits. Being the disciple of the Lord, the holy Nikephoros refuted that dunk-named, based on his deeds, though he seemed to teach rightly saying: ‘We were eager to put the issue of icons aside’. [The holy Nikephoros refuted him,] so that some of the more simple countrymen, not knowing what one should do and being weaker, may not take side with these almost atheist people; taking the wrong way to the inanimate matter, even though they were until then clear-minded and did not give vent to their imagination about the things that can be seen. Nikephoros, who was indeed outstanding among the saints, replied: ‘Even if you arranged your teaching solemnly, your fitting treatment did not make any harm concerning the sacred and your oration was persuasive, you should have taught the simple to pay the needy worship to the holy icons. Now, you are insulting, connecting things that are not coherent, trampling the holy under your foot and giving it to fire. You do not help⁶ the soul to develop, you do not kindle fire in the mind and thaw it, but you put filthy hands on the divine sacrifice and arrive bodily into yourself, for which you are already somehow condemned, and like a dog you return to your own by turning towards the abandonment of God’. And, based on the deeds of that person, Nikephoros put him to shame.

Since we guard and preserve the holy and venerable icons, our piety and the icons’ adoration demonstrate what is pure and orthodox. As again from the opposite: what is pure and honest in our adoration, defend the holy things unharmed and that those are preserved undamaged by us brings about unambiguously indicative things from other people, who have proofs [of piety] also from other sources, especially from the holy icons, since they are pictured. [In the case of the icons, it is not proper to refer to either] the icon of Christ, nor to the icon of the Mother of God, but to Jesus Christ and the Mother of God, since they are existing prototypes also for the holy icons according to the one, identical *hypostasis*. The holy Theodore the Stoudite demonstrates this clearly, saying the following: ‘To the physical icon and to its cause, that is to the Son and to the Father, [since they have] one *hypostasis*, also the same adoration [is to be paid] any time, according to their identical *hypostasis*. To the icon that imitates Christ and to Christ [since they have] arguably one substance (*hypostasis*), also the same adoration [is to be paid] any time; however, not on the basis of the difference between the nature of Christ and that of his icon. For if one said that the same adoration is due to Christ and his icon

⁶ Methaphoric use of the meaning ‘to sell for exportation’, cf. *Lampe* 456 s.v. ‘ἐμπίπρασκω’.

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according to their identical nature, or neither according to their identical nature, nor according to their identical *hypostasis*, in both cases he would obviously fall into idolatry', since according to [John] the Theologian: 'Every spirit that denies [the statement that Christ came in the flesh] is not from God, but that is the antichrist'. Leo the holy Pope of Rome explained that such a spirit⁷ is nothing else than this, if removes itself from the human nature of Christ, that is from the one *hypostasis* of the human nature. It is quite clear that, since the holy Theodoros said that both the prototype and his icon have the same *hypostasis*, the one who destroys an icon entirely denies that the *hypostasis* in the icon and in the prototype is the same. If one denied the one *hypostasis* of the two, he not only would think that Christ's icon is only a simple matter and that he destroyed and alienated that simple matter: for how an orthodox person, who piously pays equal adoration to Christ, the prototype, and his holy icon according to their identical *hypostasis* which himself embraces and to which he from the bottom of his heart turns for his personal salvation, can bear with patience to destroy it himself, or to see it destroyed by others? For which reason the Seventh Synod, which counted anything that had come about before it was convened, in a written, or unwritten way by anybody regarding the ecclesiastical tradition as *facta*, already says this way: 'We defend the written and unwritten decrees of the church as a tradition which cannot be renewed from which one is the form of the iconic representation. This is in accord with the teaching of the Gospels and useful for us to believe in the true and not imagined incarnation of the Logos of God and for [other] similar profit for us, [too]. [For] the things that are notificatory regarding each other, also strengthen each other. Since these things are so, arriving on the royal path and following its course onwards by means of the divinely inspired teaching of our holy fathers and the tradition of the universal church, about which we know that the Holy Spirit dwells in it, we decree with the utmost accuracy and gracefulness to set up divine icons that are picted, decorated with small gems and made also from other material, similarly to the model of the venerable holy cross, in the holy churches, to fix them on sacred vessels and vestments, walls and tablets, to exhibit them in houses and on the roads. The icon of Jesus Christ, our Lord, God and saviour; the icon of our immaculate mistress, the holy Theotokos; that of the venerable angels and all the holy and saintly men. In as much as they are continuously seen by their iconic representations, the more those who see them, face the remembrance of, and the desire towards the prototypes and they adore with reverence and greet them. Not, in fact, with true worship which is due only to the divine nature, but in a manner which fits the venerable cross and the sacred gospel books. [We also decree]

⁷ In the sense of person, individual.

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to use other offerings and apply incenses and lights for the veneration of the icons, as it was a pious custom long ago: “For the veneration of the icon goes to the prototype”, and who adores an icon, adores in that the *hypostasis* which has been depicted’. It is clear from those which has been clarified, known and taught before us that from the icons and in the icons the truth is adored. The edicts of seven ecumenical synods [testify this].

Now, it must be demonstrated by means of the teaching of the great Paul that the avarice directed towards the sacred things and the holy icons is more serious than all kinds of idolatry. Any pious person would say that an offence which one dared to make to God, is an absolutely graver sin than the injustice done to people. If no one would like to say this and argue for which I was saying, the holy scripture will prove this clearly, crying out loudly somehow this way: ‘If, when sinning, somebody makes a trespass against a man, prayers will be offered for his sake. However, if one offends God, who will pray for him?’ These words treat the offence to God as almost inadmissible: without repentance the issue cannot be solved, but immediately after repenting, the person’s trespass is forgiven even though he committed such a sin. And listen to the great Apostle what he declares about the avarice towards other people when defines the greedy person as the worshipper of idols: ‘Everybody who is fornicator, filthy, or greedy who is the worshipper of idols, will not take part in the kingdom of Christ and God’, and again: ‘Bury all your parts which are earthly: fornication, impurity, passion, bad desire and greed’. Whatever is idolatry, those who hurt unduly the interest of others and steal what pertains to somebody else, are worshippers of idols and to be banished from the whole church. As the divine word says: ‘Those who steal God’s property, prepare themselves a name for which they will find nobody to pray for’, and again: ‘You instruct the other’, says, ‘but not yourself? You declare not to steal, but you steal? You say not to commit adultery, but you commit it yourself? You have an aversion from idols, nevertheless you are sacrilegious? You boast of observing the law, but by transgressing the law, you do not venerate God, for “God’s name is cursed by us among the pagans”, as it is written’. Your imperial majesty heard how many and what kind of words support the one who hates the idols and the one who appropriated the goods offered to the idols, calls sacrilegious and the worshipper of idols at the same time, as Chrysostomos explained. For he says to have a high value on the law and have the things which pertain to the idols loathsome: ‘By giving votive offerings to the idols you say’, he contends, ‘that you loathe the things which pertain to the idols, however you spoil the idols from the offerings. Therefore, do you really loathe the idols?’ If the one who carries off the offerings dedicated to the idols is sacrilegious, what kind of punishment does the one merit who steals the things that are of the true God? But [the Apostle] says that those dishonour God himself who boast of the law and

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they transgress the divine commands. In addition to this, [the Apostle] claims that the pagans blaspheme the fearful name of God because of them. These words, my Lord, are not of one who misinterprets the divine scriptures, but the very words of the Apostle. If one teaches you something that is not in accord with the teaching you had, even if he is a heavenly angel, be anathematised. Because the things are so, [and] now it is not an introduction to the commands of God, but it is about idolatry itself: as it has already been demonstrated how a devout person in this matter will be considered an accuser,⁸ or how one's demonstration will be examined when all the Christians and the assisting impious people, who force the Christians, as well, to convict the one, accuse him, in order not to fall in with the pure apostolic words which says that way: 'God's wrath is revealed from heaven upon all impiety and unrighteousness of the people who treat the truth unjustly'. Did your imperial majesty pay attention to that the Apostle denotes impiety and unrighteousness, too, if one who is aware of the truth, retains it for himself, conceals it, and does not make it known? And again the same says to everybody to agree in all things: 'Whoever becomes aware of God's judgement that those who commit such things deserve of death, not only make those things, but also give their consent to those who commit those', and this [the Apostle] contends about different vices, not about such an impiety.

⁸ Leo refers to himself and, according to all likelihood, to the *semeioma* of January 1086.